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PARIS, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

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Hassan Portrays **Bush** as Avowed Friend of Arabs

ly broadcast Arab television interview that President George Bush assured him privately that Arabs would not for a long time find a friendlier U.S. leader

King Hassan quoted Mr. Bush as having said this to him during a private meeting in New York in January, when the Moroccan king visited the

My friend, tell your Arab brothers, and especially the Palestinians, that after me and my government, and, my adminis-

Politics is not the art of choosing between good and better but

between bad and worse. King Hassan II

tration, and for a long time to come, they shall not find support such as the support I am giving now and will continue to give in the future, even though I

am man election period."
The Moroccan king also strongly urged Libya's leader, Colonel Moanmar Gadhafi, to "sacrifice" two Libyans and turn them over to the United States or Britain for trial over their suspected responsibility in the bombing and crash of Pan Am Flight 103 in Lockerbie,

Asserting that the Libyan people will be deeply hurt by further sanctions if the impasse INTERNATIONAL between the United Nations

By Yoursef M. Ibrahim
Now York Timer Service
PARIS — King Hassan II of
Morocco has asserted in a wideby broadcast Arab television in-

Reminding Libya of "what happened to Iraq" in the con-frontation with the West and the United Nations, the king said that if he were in Colonel Gadhafi's place he would have "sacrificed two of my citizens to save my people."

The interview was broadcast Monday night on the Saudi-owned MBC television station, which broadcasts to several Arab countries. A full transcript was made available Tuesday by the London-based satel-

King Hassan said he ascer-tained in the interview that Mr. Bush, whom he described as a personal friend of long stand-ing, is a man who sticks to his word and who has often expressed his commitment to seek a solution to the Middle East problem on the "basis of justice and law."

This particular phraseology has been widely used by Arab countries as a code for complete Israeli withdrawal from lands occupied during 1967 in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, steps that Israel adamently rejects.

The Moroccan monarch long an advocate of a peaceful resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict through direct talks between Arabs and Israelis, and who received Shimon Peres, the former Israeli prime minister, a few years ago, said that despite appearances, Israel had made significant concessions in the peace talks that started in October in Madrid.

"If we take Israel's positions and analyze them so far," he said, "we will find they are based on slight concessions, but if we look at them in their entirety we see that these concesand Libya continues over the sions are of important volume."



WAITING FOR DINARS — Citizens of besieged Sarajevo formed an uncertain line Tuesday in front of a bank during a hull in the shooting. A opposing forces agreed to reopen Sarajevo airport for humanitarian purposes.

Serbia, Facing Sanctions, Offers Cooperation

UNITED NATIONS, New York - In an 11-hour bid to head off mandatory Security Council sanctions, the leadership of the rump Serbian nationalist govern-ment in Belgrade offered Tuesday to work with the United Nations to end the fighting and oppression in Bosnia-Herzegovina and seek to speed up the flow of

emergency relief supplies to the population there. It also asked the Security Council to send a delegation to visit Belgrade and Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to asses the situation there and avoid what it terms judgments based oo assumptions rather than established facts."

[The European Community will seek a trade ban on Serbia, either acting alone or through the Security Council, diplomats said Tuesday in Brussels, Reuters reported. No further details were available.]

Belgrade's offer to help end to the fighting came in a letter sent to the UN secretary-general, Butros Butros Ghali, just as Security Council members began drafting a new resolution that would impose a series of graduating the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The council hopes to vote on the resolution late this week.

It is unclear what effect, if any, the Yugoslav offer will have on the drive for sanctions. But while the United States and Britain have appeared firmly in favor of punitive action against Belgrade —with sup-port from the Islamic world, which feels Bosnia's Musims are suffering at the hands of the Serbs - France, Russia and China have been more hesitant as has Zimbabwe, one of the council's nonaligned members.

The Russian foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrey, is on peace mission to the Balkans, and some diplomats hink his assessment of the sincerity of Belgrade's apparent change of heart could have an influence on mbers' approach to sanctions.

Initial reports from the region suggested that Mr. Kozyrev was making progress. Speaking on Bosnia-Herzegovina state television after talks in Sarajevo, Mr. Kozyrev said rival Serb and Croat-Muslim forces had agreed to a new cease-fire. The forces also agreed to reopen Sarajevo's airport on Wednesday so that emergency supplies of food and medicine could be flown in for residents of the besieged Bosnian capital who are threatened by starvation and disease. Council members have been discussing a series of

graduated measure designed to slowly increase the pressure oo Belgrade to cooperate with UN and other peace efforts. The idea was to start with a civil air transport

embargo, followed possibly by suspension of oil deliv-eries, the expulsion of Yugoslav government from all international organizations and the freezing of its foreign assets. A full trade embargo would be held in reserve as a final threat. In Lisbon last weekend, Secretary of State James A.

Baker 3d called for sanctions against the Belgrade government, accusing it of not trying to stop the lighting. The United States has also said it does oot regard that government as the legal successor of the defunct Yugoslav Federation and that it must reapply for UN

See SANCTIONS, Page 2

Russian Court Opens Trial of Political Corpse - Communist Party

By Michael Dobbs

MOSCOW — The defunct Soviet Communist Party, whose seven decades of virtually nuchallenged power made it the most durable totalitarian machine of the 20th century, went on trial here Tuesday.

The new Constitutional Court of Russia

ruled that it had the authority to hear charges that the party, which once had as many as 18 million members, had violated the country's Constitution by functioning as a state within a

The court will also consider a complaint by former Communist officials that President Bo-

ers tned to seize power in August At its opening session, the court decided to invite Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the former party

Russia, Ukraine split Black Sea Fleet. Page 2. chief and president, and other Communist

leaders to testify on issues ranging from the party's tangled finances to allegations that it had aided international terrorists. Mr. Gorbachev, who was not present Tues-

day, resigned as the party's general secretary, its last, shortly after the coup was suppressed. The court adjourned until July 7 to give both

ied documents showing that the party used illegal means to preserve its power, violated human rights and provided weapons and

Although attorneys for Mr. Yeltsin compared the court case to the postwar Nuremberg trials of Nazi leaders, the hearings are significantly different. It is the party, rather than its leaders, that must answer for its activities.

A senior Yeltsin aide, Gennadi Burbulis, said at a news conference that he did not exclude the possibility of trials for former Communist lead-

Several former party leaders face treason charges in connection with the coup in Aogust. Some former Communist leaders, including Yegor K. Ligachev, the onetime ideologist, and a former deputy leader, Vladimir Ivashko, were present in the crowded courtroom at the beginning of the proceedings.

A Gorbachev spokesman, Georgi Shakna-zarov, described the invitation to the former president to testify on behalf of the party as 'senseless" since he had resigned as its leader. Much of the party's vast property holdings including its Moscow headquarters, lavish of-

ris N. Yeltsin of Russia acted illegally when he abolished the party after Communist hard-linMr. Yeltsin say they plan to submit recently in an illegal and unconstitutional manner.

is N. Yeltsin of Russia acted illegally when he sides time to prepare their cases. Attorneys for in an illegal and unconstitutional manner.

is N. Yeltsin of Russia acted illegally when he sides time to prepare their cases. Attorneys for in an illegal and unconstitutional manner.

In theory, all this would have to be returned if the Constitutional Court decided that President Yeltsin's ban on the party was illegal.

To preempt such a decision, the president's supporters are doing all they can to depict the party as a criminal organization. On Monday, a senior Yeltsin aide. Sergei Shakhrai, read extracts from a previously top-secret document showing that the party had ordered that weapons be supplied to Palestinian terrorists in the mid-1970s for attacks on American and Israeli diplomatic officials.

ACTOR ATTORES Paris-Washington Chill Reflects Wider Split on Alliance's Future STATE THE PARTY OF THE PARTY OF

By William Drozdiak

PARIS Growing hostility between France and the United States over trade, security and political cooperation is jeopardizing efforts to find a future consensus for the Atlantic partnership security and netship and strengthening a new sense of rival-

ry among the allies, according to European and American diplomats.

The continuing impasse in global trade nego-tiations and tensions over how to build a new HOLDAY RENDE European security structure reflect a new era of distrust between Paris and Washington. But diplomans say the policy clashes mask a more fundamental conflict over the evolution of the Aflantic relationship that bodes ill for the fu-

The French president, François Mitterrand,

is convinced that Europe can achieve its super-power ambitions only by achieving greater in-dependence in military and economic matters from the United States. Moreover, the French government is actively seeking to persuade its European partners that greater independence is only prudent because the United States seems bound to enter a new phase of isolationism as the domestic social strife and economic difficulties get worse.

While Chancellor Helmnt Kohl of Germany

still strives to maintain a good rapport with Washington, key parts of the Bonn govern-ment, including the Foreign Ministry now headed by Klans Kinkel, have embraced the French perspective.

"The Germans share every one of our con-

See NATO, Page 2



QUEEN AND COLONEL — Queen Elizabeth II with officers of the Grenatier Guards

regiment. As colonel in chief, she took the salute on Tuesday during the presentation of colors.

Call It the Taxpayer's Cup Yacht Race Winner Got a Hefty Break

By David S. Hilzenrath and Angus Phillips

Washington Post Service

For the victorious America's Cup skipper, William I. Koch, one of the wealthiest men in the United States, the quest for yachting's premier title held a variety of rewards. There was the thrill, the glory and the 141-year-old. And then there were the tax benefits.

No one in yachting circles has suggested that Mr. Koch was more interested in tax savings than in the sailing competition itself. But Mr. Koch, whose personal fortune is estimated at \$650 million, became eligible for millions of dollars of federal income tax deductions by obtaining tax-exempt status for his America's Cup racing syndicate, the America Foundation, and then contributing

In effect, U.S. taxpayers subsidized Mr. Koch's trimmin over the Italian challenger May 16 off San Diego, because the money sheltered from taxes would be lost to the U.S. Mr. Koch said in an interview that the \$10

million he contributed out of his personal funds could save him "a couple million bucks" on his taxes. He said that he received the "blessing" of the Internal Revenue Service after telling it what he was going to do with the America Foundation, of which he is

"I didn't do it by trying to sneak around,"

he said. The use of a tax-exempt foundation is not new to the America's Cup. Past competitors have raised funds through nonprofit groups, and Dennis Conner, whom Mr. Koch defeated for the right to defend the cup, is seeking tax-exempt status for one of the organizations involved in his syndicate.

What is unusual, racing experts said, is the size of the tax benefits that Mr. Koch could derive from large contributions he made.

chatter in the yachting world. A sailor and writer from New England, for example, confronted Mr. Koch at a news conference in April. "I really would like to ask Mr. Koch if I can make my boat in

See WINNER, Page 14

Walesa Seeks A New Cabinet

Kiosk

WARSAW (Reuters) — President Lech Walesa said Tuesday that he had lost confidence in the government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, and he asked the Polish parliament to create a oew

cabinet. Ending weeks of pressure on Mr. Olszewski's minority cabinet to resign, Mr. Walesa sent a letter to the speaker of the Sejm, the lower bouse, saying he had with-drawn his support for the govern-ment because it was destabilizing

state structures. "I lost confidence in the government and this forces me to withdraw my support for it. I propose that solutions aimed at creating a new cabinet are undertak-en," Mr. Walesa wrote.

General News

Philip Habib, U.S. diplomatic troubleshooter, is dead. Page 2. Biotech food, prepared with care, gets FDA approval for American The Supreme Court cleared the

way for Congress to let the states tax mail-order purchases. Page 3. Thailand looks to the opposition to form a government. Page 6.

Business/Finance Belancing the U.S. budget would

require vast changes. Page 9. Barbara Franklin makes the case for freer trade. Page 14.

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Page 5.

Is Delayed **Until 2005** Germany's Slash in Aid Is Blow to Joint Project, And Perhaps to Others

By Joseph Fitchett

PARIS — Crippled by Germany's need to concentrate spending on national reunification, Europe's major space program announced Tuesday that the manned shuttle Hermes would not be launched until 2005 - and perhaps oever.

Although anticipated in the aerospace industry, the public admission that Hermes might be beyond Europe's financial reach at this juncture was a blow to hopes, particularly in France, that Germany could continue to pour investments into prestigious pan-European

As a symbol of the budget crunch in Europe, the Hermes setback might bave a ripple effect on wider European ambitions. The growing unaffordability of an independent program in space - just as in other sectors of science or defense - might improve prospects for trans-Atlantic cooperation on major programs, according to European and American officials.

Spared in the projected cutbacks is a European minilab to be carried by a U.S. shuttle to an orbiting space station. Freedom. Also unaffected are Europe's unmanned satellites and Ariane launchings.

Explaining the new postponement of Her-mes, an official of the European Space Agency said at a Paris news conference: "If it goes ahead, it will be after the year 2005, quite possibly with foreign cooperation with the Americans, Russians or Japanese."

In practice, the Europeans, chiefly France and Germany, are under pressure to decide sometime this summer whether to pursue the Hermes program, at an estimated cost of \$1 million a day, or turn to the scaled-down alternative of an unmanned space vehicle, known as the Hermes Demonstrator.

Of the main sponsors, France has by far the most prestige riding on success in the project, because Paris governments have pressed over the years for the French space program to be expanded into an autonomous European capa-

But Germany, the European Space Agency's main bankroller, has been reluctant to meet the rising costs of a European bid to put people into space. The idea has also been losing support in Italy and Spain, the other main cootributors to the agency's annual budget of about 53 billion - roughly one-third of funding levels at the National Aeronautics and Space Administra-

Hopes of lowering the cost of the Hermes program by getting help from Moscow proved disappointing.

Germany has been active in a campaign in recent mooths to find ways to tap into the former Soviet, oow Russian, space technology. But Russian industry, a specialist said, "wants to sell technology, not cooperate with Europe in the sense that we understand cooperation in the Industrialists' calculations suggest that shar-

ing a significant amount of the Hermes work with Russia would offer only marginal financial savings. The benefits would be far outweighed by the risks of dependency on a supplier beset by political uncertainties. Japan, apparently intent on going into space

on its own, has rebuffed European overtures. The successive slips in Hermes, which was scheduled at its inception in 1987 to be in space within a decade, might induce participants to shelve their main space programs until the financial climate improves.

"We must oow work on a five-year plan that can be altered to take into account internation-

See SPACE, Page 2

Ross Perot As Lean, Mean Media Machine

By Michael Kelly New York Times Service

WASHINGTON - When Ross Perot talks of himself and his current position, he likes to conjure a picture of "a happy accident," an innocent abroad in the wilds and wiles of media land. "I don't have a handler," he says with pride. "I don't have anyone who tells me what kind of suit to wear, what kind of tie to wear. I don't have any powder on my face."

He boasts of his unsuitability for television

politics, poking fun at his Texas country-boy

NEWS ANALYSIS

accent, his big, beaten nose, the great jug ears that frame his face like cartilaginous quotation marks. He usually ends his litany of likable flaws with the same shrugging summary. "What you see," be says, "is what you get."
This is true, but it is also true that what you

see of Mr. Perot is by his own careful design. He is a master salesman, and for 25 years, he has done much of his selling — of causes, business ventures, ultimately of himself — through the press. The history of his dealings suggests that Mr. Perot understands the ways of news organizations considerably better than they under-stand the ways of Mr. Perot.

A natural charmer and gifted talker, he has over the years, spun from the rich ore of his extraordinary life a great and golden public Perot - the fastest-made, richest Texan ever, the corporate king who lives like a commoner, the world's only billionaire-hero.

He has proved equally adept at the darker side of public relations, quick to strike at opponents with the kind of pointed put-downs and

See CAMPAIGN, Page 3

Russia and Ukraine Agree to Split Fleet

MOSCOW - The Black Sea Fleet of the former Soviet Union is to be removed from joint control of the Commonwealth of Independent States and divided between Ukraine and Russia, the top military commander said Tnesday.

Marshal Yevgeni I. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth armed forces, said talks between Russia and Ukraine would determine how to divide the

Marshal Shaposhnikov said the last nuclear weapons carried aboard the fleet's 380 ships had been removed earlier this month in an overnight convoy.

Russia had originally said the fleet should stay under Commonwealth control and form part of a joint strategic force, but Ukraine disagreed. It said it was entitled to large portions of the fleet, which is based mainly in the Crimean port of Sevastopol.

Disputes between Russia and Ukraine over dividing the former Soviet military machine, including the Black Sea Fleet, have rocked the Commonwealth since its for-

Asked if the Black Sea Fleet remained part of the joint strategie forces after Tuesday's meeting of the Commonwealth defense chiefs, Marshal Shaposhnikov said: "No, it did not"

The Ukrainian deputy defense minister, Lieutenant General Ivan Bizhan, said after the news conference that in addition to the Black Sea Fleet, paratroop forces and most of the former Soviet Air Force had also been excluded from the strategie forces.

He said the decisions corresponded to an earlier Ukrainian proposal to have a slimmer strategic force.

The moves leave the strategic nuclear troops and nuclear-carrying detachments of the air force and the navy as the only effective joint Commonwealth force.

"The strategic forces will include strategic missiles, nuclear weapons held by air forces, nuclear weapons in the navy, anti-ballistic missiles," and some space-related weapons, said Marshal Shaposhnikov, who is emerging as a peacemaker among the sometimes argumentative de



SHOOT AND HIDE —An Azerbaijani militiaman leaping from cover Tuesday to fire a burst from his AK-47 assault rifle at Armenian irregulars near the village of Shelli in the Agdam region. The informal strategy in the conflict is to leap out, fire and duck, taking turns.

Kosovo: Next Stop in Yugoslav War?

By John F. Burns New York Times Service

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia - For nearly 12 months, war has been moving inexnrably southward across what was once Yngoslavia, getting deadlier by turns as it has leapt from Slovenia to Croatia to

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now, as the United States prepares to lead a drive at the United Nations for mandatory economic sanctions against Serbia, which has been widely judged to be the main aggressor in the fighting, the fears of many in the Balkans are focusing on what could become the next battleground. It is called Kosovo, and what has happened here since Sunday has offered little hope that the worst of the killing is past.

The province of Kosovo is administered by Serbia, which cherishes these rolling hills as the heart-land of the Serbs' mythology about themselves as the Christian defenders of Europe against Islam. But the residents of the region have voted by a crushing majority to secode from Serbia and Yugoslavia as part of a long-term plan to be-come part of Albania, which is overwhelmingly Muslim.

The vote took place no Sunday, in the face of widespread Serbian police harassment and a brooding Yugoslav Army presence. The bal-Relgrade promises to make a parties to immediately terminate the bombing of Sarajevo and Mosloting involved only ethnic Albanians, who account for 90 percent of the 2.1 million residents of Kosovo, and was deemed illegal by the Beltar and the destruction of other de government and by the Sere wrote.

The government also promises to bian officials who, under the state "publicly disassociate itself from of emergency declared two years

ago, control all aspects of Kosovo's government.

Vowing to keep Kosovo part of Serbia "forever" on behalf of Serbian legend and the fewer than 200,000 Serbs who live here, Serbia has pledged force to prevent any

attempt at secession.

Preliminary tallies indicated that close to a million voters had cast ballots for the so-far imaginary post of president of Kosovo, effectively approving the secession that was almost the only election issue. The reaction among local Serbs was the same explosive compound of anger, resentment, and threats that burst forth when Croatia, Slovenia, and then Bosnia-Herzegovina voted for independence.

"Serbia and Montenegro are ready to go to any lengths to defend their sovereignty, starting here," said Dragan Jovanovic, a burly, 28-year-old mechanic taking a lunch break in a restaurant in Kosovo Polje, the site of the Serbs' defeat by the Turks in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389

A few kilometers away, in cramped offices behind the soccer stadium in Pristina, Kosovo's capital, ethnie Albanian officials were completing the election tally. With an excitement and pride that had some of them on the verge of tears, they said that more than 90 percent of the registered voters had cast ballots and that 95 percent of them voted for Ibrahim Rugova, a 47year-old fecturer on modern literature who became the sole presidential candidate when others judged

sporadic incidents that Serbian officials branded as "terrorism" in the 1980s, have been stripped of most of their firearms.

To deter the Serbs, the Albanians have only their numbers and the restive armed forces of Albania, across high mountains about 100 kilnmeters (60 miles) by road southwest of here. Albania, which recently rid itself of a Communist government, is Europe's poorest country, so weakened that many live by emergency food aid, bandit-

ry, and begging.
Nonetheless, few would rule out violence here that could spiral out of control. Fears of such a conflict, the sort of thing that only armchair Napoleons considered seriously a few months ago, are now being weighed in the chancelleries of Western Europe, where two Balkan wars 80 years ago, centering on what became southern Yogoslavia, were preliminaries to World War L.

If was came over Kosovo, it the job too dangerous to seek. might involve Serbia and Albania Europe
Kosovo's ethnic Albanians, after directly, and possibly Bulgaria, he said.

Greece, and Turkey. They are re-gional powers that might take sides and scrap for territorial spoils, especially in Macedonia, another breakaway Yugoslav republic be-tween Kosovo and Greece that has its own restive Albanian minority. The United States, moving rapidly in recent days to increase pres-sure on Serbia to halt the warfare in

Bosnia-Herzegovina, has said that it would press in the United Nations Security Council this week for sanctions against Serbia, probably including a ban on civilian air links and an oil embargo. But there are doubts about how far Russia and France, permanent council members that have historic links with

Serbia, are prepared to go in isolat-ing the Belgrade government. In any case, Slobodan Milosevic, the 50-year-old former Communist official who is Serbia's president, has consistently defied efforts to pressure him into abandoning what he has called his duty to "defend" Serbian minorities, like the one whose heavily armed milities have seized two-thirds of Bosmia-Herze-

This pattern is still more likely to be the case with Kosovo, since Mr. Milosevic's political transformation into a powerful nationalist fig-ure began in Kosovo in 1987 with a speech in which he vowed that no force would ever again be allowed to "beat the Serbs."

Gordan Milosavljevic, a 45-yearold Serbian lawyer, put the matter squarely. "As always, Serbia is En-rope's defensive wall, defending Europe against Islamic influence,"

WORLD BRIEFS

Baker, in Tbilisi, Links Aid to Rights

TBILISI, Georgia (AP) — Secretary of State James A. Baber 34 offering limited economic aid to Georgia on Tuesday, said a base offering limited economic and to Georgia on Therapy, and a light package would depend on free elections and respect for minorine; sinks.

Speaking during Independence Day celebrations in the small Canasian nation, a former Soviet republic, Mr. Baker want out of his way to commend Eduard. A Shewardhadze, the Georgian chief of state and former Soviet forcing minister, channg a series of joint news conference. He also visited Georgia's most historic church.

Mr. Shevardnadze, head of the elected governing council, welcome the U.S. support, "Mr. Batter's visit is an important stage in George development in a democratic way," he said.

UN Tells Khmer Rouge to Cooperate

PHNOM PENH (AFP) — The United Nations chief official and Cambodia, Yasushi Akasia, accused the Khmer Rouge on Therefore blocking the peace process and warned them against using stalling tests.

"The Khmer Rouge has so far failed to take steps which must be take if the agreement is to be carried out," Mr. Akashi, who heads the Un Transitional Authority in Cambodia, said after a mosting of Cambodia, Supreme National Council, which groups the four main factions.

Israel Steps Up Air Raids in Lebanon

BETRUT (Renters) — Israeli warplanes hit suspected pro-Irania guernilla bases in southern Lebanon in a series of strikes on Tuesday

wounding four militarts and a civilian, security sources and.

Witnesses said four planes swooped in on Rezbolish positions at less 10 times, firing 40 rockets. The strikes, the third wave of Israel attack into Lebanon in less than a week, were carried out just north of the si-called security zone Israel set up to prevent guaralla raids across in northern border.

The stepped-up air war provoked fears of conflict between Israel and Syria, the main power broker in Lebanon. But Defease Minister Might Arens of Israel said he accepted remarks of Poreign Minister Found Shara on Monday that Damascus did not seek controutation. "We had wars in the past with Syria and Syria was the aggressor, so if they have plans for going to war, and I don't believe they do, there is no risk of wa at all," Mr. Arens said.

Swiss Give France Bakhtiar Suspect

PARIS (Renters) - An Iranian wanted in the murder of former Prince

PARIS (Renters) — An Iranian wanted in the murder of former Princ Minister Shapur Bakhtiar of Iran in Angust was extendited to Pittonion Tuesday. He was detained and charged with complicity in the staying of Mr. Bakhtiar and his secretary, junicial sources said.

Switzerland handed over Zeynol Abedin Sariadi, 25, at the Buel-Mulhouse border sixpert, and France's top anti-terrorism judge, Jen-Louis Brugnière, ordered him immediately into police custody.

The extradition provoked a protest from the Iranian Foreign Ministry, which sixpurposed the France and Switze ambassadors and demandation. which summoned the French and Swiss ambassadors and demanded the release of the suspect. French anthorities are holding three others in the case, all Tranians, including one extradited earlier by Switzerland.

Kim Dae Jung in Seoul Race 3d Time

SEOUL (AP) — Kim Due Jung, leader of the largest opposition party, the Democratic Party, was nominated for president Tuesday and pledgar to bolster South Korea's economy to one of the eight largest in the world. Mr. Kim, 67, who has run for president twice, is the third candidate enter the presidential contest. The other two are Kim Young Sam of the governing Democratic Liberal Party and the billionaire Chung Jir Yung, founder of South Korea's second-largest conglomerate, Hyundai.

Voting is expected in December for a successor to President Roll Tae Woo, whose five-year term ends in February 1993. South Korean law bar him from another term.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Tokyo and Osaka Top Expense List

GENEVA (AP) - For tourists, the Impanese cities of Tokyo and Osaka remain by the most expensive cities in dollar terms, according to

Survey published Tuesday.

With New York as a base of 100, Tokyo had an index of 174 and Osaki

With New York as a base of 100, Tokyo had an index of 174 and Osaki 162. The Libyan capital, Tripoli, followed, with 146. Harare, Zimbabwe, was the cheapest city for expatriates, with a tate of 62.

The survey of 98 cities is published twice a year by Corporate Resources Group in Geneva. It is based on 151 products including food.

clothing and transport, but not accommodation. The cost of fiving in most West European countries was higher than in the United States, although East European ones remained good value; it said. London was ranked 15th, at 119; Rome and Paris fied for 23d place, at 113 each. Quates Airways plans to fustall videotape players for all first- and business class passengers on long-haul flights. The carrier plans to fit is fleet with almost 1,900 video players supplied by the Japanese manufacturer Matsushita Avionics Systems.

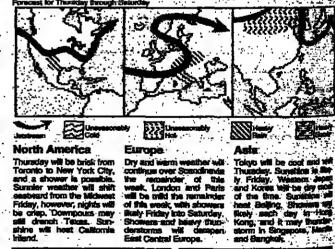
[AP]

A partial strike by Belgian rail workers will halt international trains for

Britain is dropping visa requirements for Poles wishing to visit Britain, an issue that had clouded relations between the countries. Polant is also to drop its visa requirements on Britain. to drop its visa requirements on Britons.

Stockholm has voted to keep the city's second support, Brownsa. This clears the way for international flights to resume there next week after more than 30 years, officials said Tuesday. Brownsa, six kilometers (about 4 miles) from the city, has been used mainly for private aviation. Arlanda airport, 40 kilometers (about 25 miles) outside Stockholm, is the primary commercial airport.

The Weather



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The Associated Press ings between President Anwar Sa-PARIS — Philip C. Habib, 72, a dat of Egypt and Prime Minister tary of state for political affairs, the in reporting by the Overseas Press former U.S. undersecretary of state Menahem Begin of Israel that led No. 3 post at the department, in Club in 1956 and '58 and won the

the U.S. delegation to the Paris Edmund W. Stevens, 81, Veteran Moscow Reporter

MOSCOW (AP) - Edmand W. Stevens, \$1, the award-winning dean of the Moscow press corps who covered the Soviet Union for half a century, died Sunday after a stroke.

Mr. Stevens worked for a variety ment in 1981 to be special envoy to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge of British and American publications starting in the late 1930s, when Stalin was dictator.

spondent for the Christian Science

He won the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1950 for "Russia Uncensored," a series on

Monitor.

George Polk Memorial Award in

Victor V. Grishin, 77,

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Viktor V. Grishin, 77, the Communist chief in Moscow who lost the Kremlin succession to Mikhail S. Gorbachev in 1985, died Monday, Moskovskaya Pravda reported Tuesday.

to discuss his pension.

retary for 18 years.

Yeltsin Says a 2d Term Is Not at All Certain

MOSCOW -- President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia said Tuesday that despite the difficulty of pushing through his free-market economic plans, he had no intention of stepping down before his term

But be also raised the possibility that he may not run for a second

"I will not step down no matter how hard it may be. I will not retreat," he told residents of the southwestern Siberian town of Barnaul, according to Tass. But it said Mr. Yeltsin "added that he is not making a claim to a future term.

It was not entirely clear what Mr. Yeltsin had in mind with his offhand remark during a three-day swing to gauge the effect of his economic policies on the countryside. Tass did not provide a direct quote on the matter, and the nightly news programs made no reference to it.

Mr. Yeltsin, who will be 65 when the next election is due, was elected to his five-year term in 1991, the first democratically elected president of Russia in history. He remains a popular leader despite the drastic economic reforms he has put into effect. His high standing among the public, born of his rejection of the Communist system and his willingness to defy the hard-liners in the August coup attempt, has been an important factor behind the relatively peaceful manner in which price rises and other changes have been accepted.

SANCTIONS: Serbs Ease Stand Hergegovina as well as the resump-tion of the EC-brokered peace talks

(Continued from page 1)

This would allow Washington to on dividing the country up into veto Belgrade's readmission, thus denying it international legitimacy. Yugoslav diplomats here described their government's offer as a new development which the council must take into account in its deliberations, and said they hoped the letter would slow the

drive to impose sanctions. In the letter. Yugoslavia's vice president. Branko Kostic, said the Yugoslav National Army had been paramilitary formations in Bosniafully withdrawn from Bosnia-Herzegovina and called for the independent republic to resolve its internal problems through a negotiation between its principal ethnic groups, as the European

Community has proposed. Sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro he said, would "spark off very serious problems for the citizens of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia without any reason or justification." A solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hezegovina "must be sought in Sarajevo, not Belgrade,"

Serbia and Montenegro, he said, "will wholeheartedly support any action conducive to a settlement in the crisis.

More specifically, Mr. Kostic said his government was ready to cooperate fully with all decisions of the Security Council, which has called for a cease fire in Bosnia-

China Releases 3 Jailed As Democracy Activists

The Associated Press HONG KONG -China has released three political activists who were imprisoned for supporting the 1989 democracy movement, Hong

Kong news reports said Tuesday.
Radin Hong Kong reported that
Peng Rong, 24, a university student, and two Hong Kong residents, Li Long-ching and Lai Puishing, were freed Tuesday. News reports said Mr. Li and Mr. Lai were freed for health reasons.

India and U.S. to Hold First Naval Exercise

NEW DELHI - India and the United States will hold their first joint naval exercise in the Indian Ocean on Thursday and Friday, the Press Trust of India said Tuesday.

The low-key, 24-hour exercise will involve two U.S. ships, the destroyer David R. Ray and the frigate Vandegrift, and a destroyer and a frigate from the Indian side, the news agency said. It will be a break with decades of hostility between the two navies because of U.S. military support for Pakistan and India's former pro-Soviet policies.

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Herzegovina, including formations of the Serbian population, and appeal for a cease-fire to be observed in favor of patient search for a political solution."

public appeal "to all the embattled

cities and historical monuments,"

new ethnic "cantons."

In addition, Mr. Kostic asked for the Security Council to send a factfinding mission to the area and promised that Belgrade would use its influence with Scrbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina to persuade them to cooperate with the United Nations and the various humanitarian

2 Jailed in Neo-Nazi Attack

agencies working there.

Agence France-Presse DUISBURG, Germany -- Two neo-Nazi youths who set fire to a bome for asylum-seekers last October, seriously injuring two young Lebanese girls, were jailed here Tuesday for five years. The attack on the hostel at Huenxe caused a national outcry and was followed by a relative bull in attacks on foreigners. But lederal police report a recent increase, with the total for the first quarter of 1992 four times that of the January-March period

SPACE: A Flight Delay

(Continued from page 1)

al changes and economic and political circumstances," the space agency director-general, Jean-Ma-rie Luton, said at the news confer-

But there are strong pressures from lawmakers, not only in Germany but also in France, for the Hermes program to be reconsidered ahead of a ministerial meeting of the space agency in November.

Over the coming weeks, a spe-cialist said, Europe's space planners "are going to have to face up to the reality that it is impossible to proceed with the full-blown Hermes program within the present budgetary envelope."

The outlook for any moves to-ward future U.S.-European cooperation in civilian space - a sector of trans-Atlantic rivalry - is unlikely to become clear for months, partly because NASA is in the throes of a shake-up and policy review.

As a gesture of European willingness to pursue agreements on international ecoperation with Washington, the space agency decision to maintain the planned minilab for Freedom was welcomed by U.S. officials.

NATO: Paris-Washington Chill Reflects a Wider Split on Alliance Future

(Continued from page 1)

cerns toward the Americans," a French official said, "only we have the courage to tell you

about them." Last week, Mr. Kohl and Mr. Mitterrand declared their plan for a 35,000-man joint army corps was designed to complement, and not compete with, the North Atlantic Treaty Orgamization by building up Europe's military contribution. But the real purpose of the so-called Euro-corps, German and French officials acknowledge, is to accelerate preparations for an all-European army in anticipation of the day when nearly all American troops are withdrawn

from the continent. The Bush administration, as well as the governments of Britain and the Netherlands, have warned that the French-German initiative could duplicate some of NATO's purposes and ultimately hasten an American pullout by eroding public faith in U.S. leadership of the alliance's integrated military command.

The protracted deadlock in the talks on a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, as the United States and the European Community struggle to find a compromise over farm subsidies, has demonstrated the bitter economic rivalry that is evolving between the trans-Atlantic partners now that the unifying force of a Soviet military threat has vanished.

In a recent interview, Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis of Italy expressed anxiety that the twin pressures of hammering out a trade compromise while revamping the trans-Atlantic security relationship could permanent-

ly damage the alliance.
"We need to be very careful in preserving the alliance framework, because we are entering a period when economic conflict could last for several years and we will need some kind of basis to sustain the old partnership," he said. In the case of France and the United States.

the brief phase of harmony that reigned during the Gulf War has given way to intense feuding over foreign policy and disdain toward each other for the handling of various domestic

President George Bush was described by U.S. officials as incensed when Mr. Mitterrand identified 12 years of social inequities under Republican rule as the root cause for riots in Los Angeles last month. France's new Socialist prime minister, Pierre

Beregovoy, has laid the blame for the world-wide recession on the luge budget deficits and enormous debts racked up during Ronald Reagan's presidency. Although some American commentators have echoed those views, the public condemnation of Repoblican policy shortcomings by the leaders of an allied government has so infuriat-

ed the administration that a Bush-Mitterrand

meeting, tentatively set for this July in Paris, has been scratched "because it might strain relations even more," a U.S. official said. A recent trip to Washington by Foreign Min-ister Roland Dumas of France to sort out differences with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d failed miserably. The Washington visit, which was cut short by a day, went so badly that at one point Mr. Baker asked Mr. Dumas if he was "for us or against us," a source

French Foreign Ministry officials claim that U.S. arrogance deserves much of the blame for the poisoning of French-American relations. They contend that Mr. Baker has shut France out of any role in the Middle East peace process and disregarded French advice in areas of for-mer influence like Haiti and Cambodia. They also say Mr. Baker pointedly keeps a list of who votes for or against U.S. positions in allied

"Now that you are the only superpower, you

think you can dictate policy to your allies and make them obey," said a senior side to Mr. Mitterrand. "But Bush and Baker should realize that a true friend should be able to say no."

■ More Criticism of Corps The United States and Britain on Tuesday stepped up their criticism of the French-German plan for an army corps, saying the project was unclear and suggesting it should be changed to avoid undermining NATO, Reuters

reported from Brussels. Alliance ministers, meeting in Brussels, ap-proved changes in their post-Cold War military structure and discussed the possibility of making NATO forces available for peacekeeping in Eastern Europe and other troubled regions.

They spent much of their first session of the two-day meeting debating the French-German plan to set up the joint 35,000-strong corps.

"A number of countries indicated there were still a lot of manswered questions," said Malcolm Rifkind, the British defense secretary. There is at best an ambiguity, if not a silence, on those details."

A senior U.S. military official said the concerns were shared by many NATO countries, despite attempts by German military officials to explain how the proposed corps would link up with NATO.
"I don't think all of the concerns were

erased," the U.S. official said. Other officials said the French had not given concrete assurances that forces assigned to the corps would be put at NATO's disposal if

Illiance territory were attacked.

Defense Minister Virginio Rognoni of Italy said his country would not be joining, despite earlier expressing interest in the corps. He said. Italy would instead put forces at the disposal of he Western European Union, in line with a British proposal.

Philip Habib, 72, U.S. Diplomat, Dies

major American foreign policy ini-tiatives from the Middle East to the public in 1969 as acting head of Vietnam, died Monday, the U.S. Embassy said Tuesday.

during a private visit to Burgandy,

in the Côte d'Or region. He spent three decades in the diplomatic corps and was last in in Canada. He later served in New the public eye when President Ron-Zealand, Scoul and Saigon, where ald Reagan called him out of retire- he was named political counselor to try quell the Lebanese civil war. In Mr. Reagan's second term, Mr. Habib served as special envoy

to the Philippines and Central

America. He resigned the latter In 1977, President Jimmy Carter ing as ambassador to South Korea asked him to help arrange the meet- and other assignments.

who played an important role in to the Camp David peace accords. 1976, shifting his attention from He first came to the attention of Asia to the Middle East.

talks that eventually led to the end Mr. Habib died of a heart attack of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Born in New York City, the son in the town of Puligny-Montrachet. of a grocer of Lebanese descent, he began his foreign service career as third secretary at the U.S. Embassy

> as the Vietnam War escalated. He eventually was recognized as the State Department's most knowledgeable specialist on South-

east Asia, handling negotiations in "Russia Uncensored," a series on the Paris talks on Viemam, work-

Gorbachev's Former Rival

The paper said he collapsed during a visit to a social security office

When he was dropped from the top rank of Soviet power at the end | Oceania of 1985, he was the longest-serving member of the Politburo and had served as Moscow Communist sec-

FORLD BRIEFS

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ATIMET ROuge to Cooperations of the development of new strains of fruits, grains and vegetables for the supermarket.

The policy was developed by the Food and Drug Administration and Vice President Dan Ongole's Council on Competitiveness. It reflects the overwhelming consensus of the scientific community that the use of genetic engineering is not as risky as had been thought a decade ago.

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Gene-Altered Food, Rightly Spliced, Gets Official Go-Ahead for American Tables

By Malcolm Gladwell Washington Post Service
WASHINGTON — The Food and Drug Administration has ruled that food products Microd by genetic engineering raise no new or mique safety issues and will be regulated no deferently than foods created by conventional

The decision cases of the new science of biotecanology will be treated by government regulator. It is expected to give a significant boost to
the development of new streams of fruits, grains
the development of new streams of fruits, grains

institute special regulatory procedures to deal with foods created through recombinant DNA technology, they will evaluate the safety of new nutrients or ingredients added genetically to individual products in the same way that they now treat a new sweetener or preservative add-

ed to a cake mix or a soft drink. The agency will not require that foods altered by genetic engineering always be so labeled, nor will it require that every genetically altered food have agency approval before going to market. Instead, the agency has produced guidelines to help companies decide whether they need ap-

"People have been genetically modifying plants through traditional means for centu-ties," said Michael Taylor, deputy FDA commissioner for policy. Those changes have never triggered a premarket approval. But there has been uncertainty among companies, and

they have come to us and asked, 'Is it going to or a camel or bacteria - and who did it. I think be any different if we use genetic engineering? We're saying in principle there is no differ-

Steven Holtzman, vice president of DNX, a biotech company in New Jersey, said, 'The important thing here is that there is not a presumption of lack of safety because of the fact a product is biotech."

The new policy drew expected criticism from environmentalists and others. Some have said the scientific community has been too sanguine about potential risks of biotechnology.

Margaret Mellon, director of the national biotechnology policy center at the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, said: "In the next couple of years when you stand at the Safeway and survey the produce counter, you're going to look at tomatoes or potatoes and you will not know if that contains a foreign gene and where it comes from - from a human

that's outrageous."
Food producers have been waiting more than a decade for the ruling. Some producers had expressed concern that the agency, pressured by environmentalists, might have required companies to file a pre-market application for every bioengineered product. That would have require thousands of pages of data and might

The new rules are based on the conviction that nothing is intrinsically dangerous about taking a gene from ooe organism and implanting it in another. This process, it is argued, is no different in principle from what happens when new bybrids or plant varieties are created through traditional techniques. Under the new policy, how the gene got there does not matter but what ingredients or traits are created is important.

If the changes are minor, or involve chemi

disrupt the concentration of naturally occurring toxic agents, or if they introduce an allergen or change important nutrients, FDA offi-cials said companies would be allowed to

proceed without seeking government approval. If, however, the changes involve adding something new that would greatly disrupt the plant's natural state, the developer might be required to file safety data with the agency, as if it were introducing an artificial sweetener.

For example, one major seed company is attempting to take the gene that produces the important amino acid methionine in Brazil nuts and add it to soybeans to make a more nutritious chicken feed. Because Brazil nuts and methionine are known to be safe, the new soybean variety might not require formal agency approval.

In a case where no outside genes are added, companies might have an even simpler time.

For example, the California hiotech company Calgene says it has developed a tomato in which a gene that makes the fruit go soft after ripening has been blocked. That makes it possible to pick the tomato when ripe but prevents it from spoiling before reaching market. Here the company might have to show only that gene deletion did cot disrupt outritional makeup.

Even in cases where genes are introduced into a plant from animals, the same guidelines would apply. For example, some scientists are trying to add to vegetables the genes that help keep the winter flounder from freezing in Arctic waters. The theory is that the same gene will prevent mushiness in defrosted vegetables.

Under the agency policy, the source of the gene will be irrelevant. Genes could even come from bumans. All that will matter is the characteristic of the gene itself, the protein made hy the gene and the effect it has on the plant.

AMERICAN

High Schools Putting The Brake on Students

At substrain high schools across the littled States, driving to schools across the littled States, driving to schools across the little States, driving to schools across bus is a drag. But may schools are now limiting student parking to schools. Without anywhere to park, younger papels will have to take the bus.

One sich school is New Milford High in Connecticut. "Driving to school has become such a distraction to the learning process that it's handicapping kids," said Joanne Mendillo, New Milford's principal. "They're entrapped. They are so convinced that they absolutely have to have this car at 15, that to work 40 hours a week 16, that to work 40 hours a week to pay for it is not even a decision. It's just something that you do."

Mrs. Mendillo told The New York Times that parking nestrictions were a response to a message that students sent her in conversations: that they have too much freedom and want more structure in their lives. She conceded, "No one ever said, I don't think I should be allowed to drive."

Many pupils, she said, are not doing homework and not getting enough sleep because of the jobs that they hold to pay for their cars. And the cars, she added, allow students to arrive late, to leave early, and to slop out at hinch and study halls to go to the Taco Bell or Burger King on near-

In New Jersey, a state law proa hibits teen-agers from driving until age 17 — the age of most se-niors.



FOLLOWING THE TOUGH ACT - Jay Leno, the successor to Johnny Carson as host of the NBC's "Tonight Show" on American television, sharing a laugh with his first guest comedian, Billy Crystal. It was Mr. Leno's first night in the legendary slot.

In the growing controversy over abortion, the legal staff of the American Civil Liberties Union's abortion-rights team has severed its ties to the ACLU and formed its own independent organiza-tion, to be called the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy. The new unit consists of nine lawyers who had heeo on the ACLU's national staff of 40. Its share of the ACLU's \$10 million budget had been \$2.3 million. Janet Benshoof, director of the breakaway group, said it now will be able to keep whatever money it raises rather than have some of it said, "We're facing a scary new | therapy cut in half the number of | feet and if they're used to climb world without Roe and we're going to face it in the strongest way possible," Roe v. Wade is the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 roling pro-

tecting abortion rights. Treating critically ill patients with a gentle rocking motion can reduce the time they spend in intensive care units by about onequarter, according to a study by the Medical College of Virginia.
Kinetic therapy uses mechanical
beds to keep patients in constant
motion, slowly swinging patients
from side to side. Even under the best conventional care, a nurse

intensive care patients who got

Since 1986, foreign climbers have accounted for all but one of the 23 deaths on Alaska's Mount McKinley and at least three quarters of the rescues, even though only one climber in three is a foreigner, National Park Service records show. At 20,320 feet (6,194 meters), McKinley, also known by its Athahascan Indian name of Denali, is the highest peak in North America. "I think a lot of people underestimate Mc-

ing 28,000 feet they think it's no big deal." Others say Americans tend to take mountain climbing less seriously than Asians and Enropeans and thus are less willing to take risks to reach the summit.

"French fries \$20," says a fullpage advertisement in The New York Times, Underneath, in smaller type, the ad goes on to say, "Magnificent side order of prime filet mignon included." The ad is for Cité, which calls itself "New York's Great Parisian Steakhouse."

turns a patient once every two Kinley," said Jim Phillips, a park hours. Researchers said kinetic service ranger. "It's 'only' 20,000 Arthur Higbee that he, too, would be leaving the ship with Mr. Whittle, a 43-yeargo for other ACLU activities, She beleaguered university. and also mocked for his boldness. Mr. Schmidt told the Yale Corp. Among Republicans, Civil War Looms on Abortion Mr. Schmidt, a legal scholar

By Robert Pear

WASHINGTON — Republican supporters of abortion sights are preparing for a bruising battle in their effort to change the party platform, which since 1980 has firmly opposed abortion.

The White House has given no sign of moving to mollify the advocates of the right to choose abortion, who have little immediate prospect of beating an incumbent president of

But those advocates appear willing to cause political discomfort for President George Bush by waging a public campaign on the issue and by carrying their fight to the floor of the Republican National Convention in Houston this August. their own party on such an explosive issue.

.. The first step in the campaign came Toesday at a Republican Platform Committee hearing on family issues in Salt Lake City, where billboards carrying the logo "Republicans for Choice" proclaim that "68 percent of our party can't be

Better organized and better financed than in previous election years, the Republican supporters of abortion rights

have not agreed on the precise language they want in the platform. Some say silence or neutrality would be a big improvement, but most are pushing for a plank that promopose abortion. ises to protect women's access to abortion.

"We are going to be a very loud, very amoying voice from here straight through to Houston," said Nicholas J. Graham, a spokesman for the National Republican Coalition for

Representative Nancy L. Johnson of Connecticut, said, "T feel confident we will achieve some change in the text of the party platform." At a minimum, she said, she hopes to delete a provision that calls for a constitutional amendment bunning abortion.

Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, made it clear that the White House would oppose such efforts. "We are not trying to limit debate, but we want the platform to support the president's position on everything possible, especially a high-profile issue like abortion," he

Mr. Bush says he opposes abortion "except when the life of the mother is threatened or when there is rape or incest."

In 1976, three years after the Supreme Court declared in Roe v. Wade that abortion was a constitutional right, the Republican platform opposed abortion but acknowledged that there were diverse views among Republicans.

Abortion is less divisive for the Democratic Party, which

said in 1988 that "the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay." Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the party's likely presidential nominee, invariably gets applause when he declares his support for the right to choose abortion.

But some Democrats, for instance Governor Robert P. Casey of Pennsylvania, want to restrict abortion. They say the party's position on abortion has hurt its presidentia candidates in the past. Of the 268 Democrats in the House of Representatives, at least 40 vote consistently to restrict With the Supreme Court expected to redefine the limits

soon, abortion is a more salient political issue than at any In 1988, as in 1980 and 1984, the Republican platform called other time since the Roe v. Wade decision in 1973.

Court Clears Mail-Order Tax

Justices Say U.S. Congress Can Let States Impose Levy contend the amount exceeds \$3 bil-Tuesday, the court unanimously

ohligations violate due-process

But by an 8-1 vote, the court said

that imposing such obligations -

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON - The Supreme Court on Tuesday eleared the way for Congress, if it chooses, to let states tax mail-order sales. The ruling could have an enormous impact on American business, state treasuries and millions of consum-

state commerce. In a case from North Dakota, the court said states may, with congressional approval, force out-of-state catalog companies to collect the taxes — sales or use taxes — that their in-state customers owe on panies to collect the taxes. mail-order purchases.

The high court in 1967 banned states from imposing tax-collection obligations on businesses that have no physical presence within their borders. That ruling said that imposing such ohligations would violate out-of-state companies' dueprocess rights and interfere unduly with interstate commerce.

Although states have always been legally able to tax consumers for mail-order purchases, they have no means of enforcing such laws if they cannot collect the taxes from the merchants.

The amount of tax money the states have been unable to collect is a matter of some dispute. The National Governors' Asso-

chases,

without congressional approval

National Bellas Hess v. Departstill interferes unduly with interment of Revenue, had become an still interferes unduly with inter-"obsolescent precedent" that need not be followed any longer.
It said technological advances of Justice Byron R. White voted in

hillion a year.

lion a year. The mail-order industry

The North Dakota Supreme

Court ruled in 1990 that the land-

mark 1967 decision, in a case called

the minority to overturn the 1967 decision by ruling that no interthe 1970s and 1980s "created revoludonary communications abilities state-commerce problem is posed and marketing methods which were by states requiring mail-order comundreamed of in 1967." Those advances, the state court

The decision still bars states ruled, make it far easier for a mailfrom collecting taxes on mail-order order company to collect from its sales hut leaves Congress free to lift customers the appropriate state

reversed that part of its 1967 decision that said such tax-collection contends the amount is about 51

that prohibition. Mail-order sales are thought to be more than \$200 billion a year, an But some mail-order representatives have said the administrative estimated fourth of all retail sales expenses for collecting taxes and nationally. One reason for their returning them to state and local rapid growth has been the attracgovernments nationwide could drive smaller catalog companies tion for consumers of tax-free pur-

out of husiness. The ruling allows Congress to give states the power to force mailorder companies to collect taxes from consumers on future sales ciation and the direct sales industry only,

Yale Is Down, Its Leader Out

By Deborah Sontag

New York Times Service NEW HAVEN, Connecticut — Hours before the Yale University its most drastic changes in decades. president, Benno C. Schmidt Jr., ushered the Class of 1992 into the future at a spirited commencement ceremony, he stunned Yale's trustces with the private announcement ured life in academia for a partner-

in an early-morning meeting that be was resigning after six years as president to bead an ambioous, risky venture to create a national private school system.

Then, at a news conference here Tuesday, he announced that be would join Whittle Communications as president and chief executive officer of the Edison Project.

The project is the brainchild of Christopher Whittle, a maverick entrepreneur from Knoxville, Tennessee, who aims to build 1,000 forprofit, technologically advanced schools that would eventually serve as the model for revolutionary

changes in American education. Mr. Schmidt be said he had been considering the move for a year, as be grappled with Yale's \$12 million budget deficit.

The university has also been managing a disputed \$500 million huilding program even as it considers a recommendation to cut the

faculty and eliminate several aca-

demic departments. By any mearaiser in Yale history.' The Edison Project's goal is to sure, Yale is experiencing some of design completely new schools, run them at lower cost than public During the past year, Mr. Schmidt, 50, confided in very few schools, charge a moderate turiour people that be was considering and make substantial profits, Mr. Whittle hopes to build and open abandoning two decades of ten-200 schools combining day-care and elementary education by the autumn of 1996, and a total of old businessman known, admired 1.000 day-eare-through-high

school campuses by 2010. Some educators have been wary whose expertise is the First Amendment, will start work oo the of Mr. Whittle's involvement in Edison Project this summer, based education, venturing that he is in-in New York. He plans to leave terested in students primarily as

Yale by Jan. 1, 1993, at the latest. potencial consumers. "Channel One," his MTV-style He would not say bow much he will be paid, although presumably schools, drew sharp criticism for it will be significantly more than hringing commercials for candy his Yale salary. According to recbars and expensive sneakers into the classroom. But schools bought ords filed with the federal government, his salary in 1988-'89 was it anyway. Mr. Whittle estimated the audience for "Channel One" at

Leaving Yale, he prides himself 8 million tecnagers.

SPORT role in the company and continue to serve on its board, the company Pat Homer will continue to serve as president and chief operating officer of Perot Systems, according "la collection" Mr. Meyerson was president of EDS from 1979 to 1986. More re-cently, he has been helping out as Van Cleef & Arpels an issues consultant in Mr. Perot's drive to get on the ballot in all 50 states as an independent candidate.

CAMPAIGN: One of Texan's Strengths Is an Adroit Use of News Media on their lips. When he is particularly aroused, To write the story of the rescue, Mr. Perot (Continued from page 1)

stashing asides that reporters can hardly resist

and recipients can hardly overcome.

With a history of successful media campaigns going back to 1969, he long ago mastered a knowledge of both the hardware and the software of mass communication, of the technology and the psychology of the business.

Now, through these same skills and tactics, he has done something extraordinary. A man who has never held public office and has not yet declared his candidacy for the office be seeks, Mr. Perot this week became a credible presidential contender, rising to or near the top of national and state polls. He has achieved this in the space of a few

months and in a way never before even tried, bypassing party structure, the primary process and traditional campaigning, traveling from oddity to viability exclusively on the strength of mass media exposure. The world, Mr. Perot has observed, is full of

morning glories, blooms that fold by the end of the day. He may prove to be one himself, but nt will remain. The inevitable Opwering of the age, he is the nation's first pure nedia presidential contender. What is perhaps most andacious about this is that the core of Mr. Perot's media strategy is to Tun against the media, or at least to appear to do so. He is waging his noncampaign came sign primarily through the nonnews media, relying on the live radio and television talk shows that

have become an increasing political force. It is a factic that has impressed the Washington image magicians whom Mr. Perot disdains. "It was a very smart move to pick up on the talk show concept," said Michael K. Deaver, conaid Reagan's former deputy chief of staff and keeper of the president's image. "I think Perot understands something fundamental about what is going on in this country with talk radio and TV programs. They have become the track the disenfranchised now uses to express its will. The citte press is part of the establish-

ment, as far as the public is concerned, part of the whole rigged game, part of the fix."

At times in his television interviews, Mr. Perot seems the picture of a man poised on the edge of taking offense, his tough bittle face threat forward, his chin out and up. He leaps on challengers' words while they are still forming

he shows his teeth in a tight smile and lets a sharp and shining knife-edge of disdain show

beneath the soft Texas twang. His style, by all accounts, is not an act, but that does not mean Mr. Perot has not pondered what he is doing. Looking back at some of his more contentious television interviews, be described his questioners as engaged in a game of "gotcha," trying to "prove their man- or womanhood by trying to trap" people like himself into stopid or false answers. As he sees it, he'a winning the game.

"After 'Meet the Press,' our telephone banks went into overload for three days, everyone calling in to volunteer," he said. "Now what triggered those people to volunteer? It was that part of the show that was the 'gotcha.' That's what drove it. I have the ability to know this from the phone banks."

He added, "I should get up in the morning and go out and say to the press, 'Hit me.' Negative newspaper and magazine articles, which Mr. Perot says are inspired by a Republican "dirty tricks department" that be says is

trying "to destroy me in the eyes of the voters," are of even less concern, he said. "They don't matter," he said. "I'm not sure how much people read anymore. What happens on TV is what really impacts on people. I think you could print any story you want on the front page of The New York Times and there's no reaction. It just blows away. What's even weirder, there will be a print story that carries some fairly serious allegation — that has nothing to do with the truth, nothing at all — but fairly serious, and you would think that at least

the other print guys would pick it up and ask stions. But, no. It just dies on its own legs." Anyway, Mr. Perot said with a small laugh, none of that is of much matter to him. "That's the game the press plays," he said. "It doesn't

career does not suggest he is so entirely unconcerned about the way he and the things he cares about are seen in the public eye.

1979 mission he organized to rescue two em-

ployees of his company, Electronic Data Sys-tems, held in an Iranian prison.

Perhaps it does not. But a look at Mr. Perot's An illustration can be found in his treatment of the most dramatic episode of his life, the chose the English novelist and former newspa-per reporter Ken Follett, author of several bestselling novels. Mr. Follett produced a book called "On Wings of Eagles," which portrays Mr. Perot in heroic terms. Published in 1984, it sold more than 300,000 copies in hard cover and served as the basis for a movie broadcast by

Mr. Perot is quick to recommend the book, but less quick to mention that be had editorial control over its contents. For "On Wings of Eagles," Mr. Follett received an advance of \$1 million from the New York publishing house New American Library. The contract gave Mr. Perot "approval over the manuscript of the work," and the right to stop its publication if Mr. Follett was "unwilling to make the revisions required by Perot."

Mr. Follett, responding to written questions last week, said he had a separate contract with Mr. Perot, which provided that Mr. Perot would, in the event that he suppressed the book, repay Mr. Foliett the \$1 million the author would be obliged to return to the publishers. In practice, Mr. Follett said, Mr. Perot largely limited his requests and comments to points of factual accuracy, and did not try to alter the portrayal of himself.

When his image is threatened by statements or published reports unfavorable to him, his family or his businesses, Mr. Perot has shown a penchant, and a talent, for hard-ball tactics impressive even by Washington standards.

Asked this week about a 1988 report by Laura Miller, then a columnist for The Dallas Times-Herald, that Mr. Perot once proposed in an off-the-record session with journalists that the police cordon off the crime-ridden neighborhoods of South Dallas to conduct house-tohouse and pedestrian searches for guns and drugs, Mr. Perot responded with a question of

"How much do you know about Laura Miller?" he asked. "Not much, I bet. Well, dig in." What did Mr. Perot mean by this? "I'm not going to say anything," he said. "You just need to check her reputation for accuracy and professionalism."

Ms. Miller said she was not surprised by Mr. Perot's remark and would stand on her reputa-

Perot Resigns Top Post At His Computer Firm

said in a statement.

Mr. Perot is expected to an-

WASHINGTON - Ross Perol apparently clearing the decks for an expected independent presidential candidacy, resigned Tuesday

from the chairmanship of his data

processing company, Perot Systems Corp.
His handpieked successor to head the company, which is based in Herndon, Virginia, is Morton Meyerson, a Dallas husinessman and longtime associate.

Mr. Perot created Perot Systems in 1988 after he sold his interest in his original data-processing busi-ness, Electronic Data Systems Corp., to General Motors Corp. in 1984.

Compared with EDS, Perot Systems is small. It had 1991 revenue of \$200 million, while EDS's revenue was \$7.1 billion. The company has 1,500 employ-

Mr. Perot will retain a leadership

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Herald Tribune.

And Central America?

ca? The region has all but vanished from policies, it cannot deny that war left her popular consciousness, along with Ronald Reagan's dire vision of a great red tide inching inexorably to Harlingen, Texas. Yesterday's Cold War battleground is to-day's backwater. And Washington, after a decade of interventiooism, oo looger seems interested in Central America's precarious passage from war to peace, from militarism to democracy. Yet in Nicaragua, despair haunts an

elected government struggling to disarm contra rebels and tame a Sandinista-led army. In El Salvador, old belligerents stare across an abyse of distrust as the United Nations strives to carry out a peace accord. In Guatemala, a new civilian president seeks to end the regioo's oldest civil war.

Should Americans care? Absent the overblown Soviet threat, does it matter if these small neighbors succumb to wars and revolutions? It does. In the coldest reckoning, turbulence swells a northward tide of refugees. Solidarity among democracies is not just an empty principle. And Washington cannot in good conscience abandon the victims of wars it fueled.

The Reagan administration initiated the covert war against Nicaragua's Sandinistas. Ignoring Congress, risking scandal and flout-ing laws, it did its best to make life hell for a country perceived as a Soviet pawn. More flexibly, President George Bush adopted a regional peace plan and supported the elec-tions that brought President Violeta Cha-

morro to power in 1990.

At Washington's urging, she then imposed tough measures to end inflation and restore a market economy. But the human cost has been brutal. Half the population is jobless, factories are idle and farmers are dirt poor. Breaking with a winner-take-all tradition, Mrs. Chamorro has striven for few in Washington seem to notice, or to care. reconciliation with the Sandinistas. Al-

Whatever happened to Central Ameri- though Washington may not like all her

country impoverished and polarized.

Nonetheless a big cut is likely in the \$741 million in U.S. aid earmarked for Nicaragua this year. Washington will surely cite the hard realities of competing claims for scarce dollars. Still, it does the White House little honor to contrast the determination that led to Nicaragna's devastation with the

low priority given to repairing the ruins.

The same reproach applies in El Salvador. To prevent a victory by leftist guerrilias, the Reagan team spent S6 billion on wobbly civilian regimes too weak to control a ruthless army. When it became clear that the war was unwinnable, Mr. Bush wisely changed course and supported a United Na-tions peace plan. If it is fully carried out, rebels will be disarmed, the armed forces will be purged and notorious security units will be replaced by a National Civilian Police. The plan would also guarantee human rights, land reform and truly free elections.

Washington's support has been tepid. Al-though it still owes UN peacekeeping dues, the administration perversely seeks \$65 millico in oew military aid for El Salvador, where a cease-fire is in effect. This is hard to reconcile with Mr. Bush's plea to other countries to volunteer more than their share

to peacekeeping in their own regions.

What happens in El Salvador will assuredly affect neighboring Gnatemala, where a parallel effort is under way to end a guerrilla. war. President Jorge Serrano Elias needs Washington's active help to end the army's traditional immunity on human rights a-buses. Progress is tenuous, adversaries are implacable, yet cease-fires elsewhere have built a momentum for peace. What a tri-umpb it would be for U.S. diplomacy to maintain that momentum. The pity is that so - THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Expose the Tilt to Iraq

Victory in the Gulf War was supposed to be a jewel in George Bush's re-election crown, but it now faces the prospect of some additional tarnishing in Congress.

It had long been clear that the American government maintained a tilt to Iraq well after the ostensible reason - to check the threat of Islamic fundamentalism emanating from Iran - had dissolved with Iran's losses in the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-88. The unforgettably permissive statement of the American ambassador to Saddam Hussein on the eve of his aggression against Kuwait in August 1990 underlined the point.

What was not clear was the extent and nature of the favor that Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush conferred on Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war and right up to the attack on Kuwait. The House Banking Committee chairman, Henry Gonzalez, undertook dogged solitary pursuit of this mat-ter earlier this year; others have since joined in. Their thrust is not simply that two administrations may have inclined Saddam Hussein to believe that his depredations would be cost-free but that along the way illegal acts may have been done.

On the wisdom of policy, there is oow a consensus. The Bush team acknowledges that its effort to cultivate Saddam Hussein failed dismally. Whether the effort itself was "prudent" or foolisb is under hot debate - analytical debate and, this being

The issue of impropriety and possible illegality is different. Critics, wielding the term "Iraqgate," have zeroed in on Iraq's use of the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank to obtain some \$5 billion in loans and credits that were applied partly and per-haps in a shady way for agricultural pro-ducts and partly and perhaps in an even more shady way for industrial and militaryrelated products. Driving the inquiry is the sickening possibility that the United States helped create the monster it finally went to war to slay. The House Judiciary Commit-tee is due to decide on June 2 whether to seek appointment of an independent counsel to see if the administration in these various dealings broke the law,

The State Department protests that the administration is being victimized by "selective disclosure" of classified documents. Meanwhile, members of both parties in Congress complain that the administration is withholding important documents. Full disclosure is the right way to satisfy both com-plaints. Mr. Bush may fear a pre-election inquiry that takes some of the glow off his Gulf victory. He might also calculate that the inquiry could take him out from under a growing cloud, because, after all, none of the allegations swirling about has been proved. This is a point worth remembering.

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Oil Insurance to Pay

future oil shocks, the Bush administration has fallen behind on the premiums. The SPR is a system of gigantic reservoirs of oil stored in underground caverns, ready to be tapped in an emergency, but to save money the administration is no longer filling them. In the big energy policy bill now on the House floor is a provision to put more oil into the reserve. To keep the cost off the budget, the Energy and Commerce Committoe proposes a 1 percent tax on the refiners. At present prices that would amount to about half a cent a gallon. The oil industry protests that it is unfair to make it fund a general public benefit. But the refiners would

properly falling on consumers as the price of better protection from the risk of disruptions in the supply of fuel on which they depend. The real question is the size of the reserve, and how large it needs to be. It currently holds 570 million barrels, a good deal less than the congressional target of a billion

doubtless pass most of the cost on to their

customers. The bill's authors argue that the half-cent ought to be regarded as a user's fee,

Although the Strategic Petroleum Re- barrels. Most industrial countries think that serve is America's best insurance against a reserve ought to cover 90 days' imports. The present reserve in America would cover only 76 days of imports, even at the current

recession rate of consumption.

The petroleum reserve is oot the most important provision in the energy bill, but neither is it the hardest to decide. The United States has been through three oil crises in the past two decades, and each has pushed the country into a painful recession at vast cost to both industry and consumers. In the third one, which began when Iraq invaded Kuwait two years ago, the administration failed to use the reserve in time to protect the economy from panic pricing — and one reason was, apparently, that it feared that the reserve was too small to do the job.

The country now depends on imports for about 45 percent of its oil supply, and the flow of those imports depends in turn on the perennially unstable Middle East. When the petroleum reserve comes to a vote, the issue for the House will be pretty simple, Should America start paying its oil insurance premi-ums again — or just keep trusting to luck?

- THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Thanks Be to Washington

Nuclear disarmament and foreign aid have become major matters in our relations with the world community, which is seriously concerned about our social and ethnic conflicts. The West sees it as its urgent task to reduce nuclear arms and render aid. Some of the Commonwealth states realized this and decided to make use of nuclear arms stationed on their territory to become nuclear powers and enhance their world prestige. They did not take into consideration, however, that Washington, unlike Moscow, knows

how in defend its national interests. The visit by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk to the United States proved that no cooperation is possible if a state is not nuclear-free.

So a protocol on implementation of START was signed and the dispute over the nuclear heritage of the former Soviet Union is over. Its seat in the nuclear club will be taken by only one state - Russia. We can beave a sigh of relief. Let us thank Washington for this, and ponder why we need trans-Atlantic coordinators and mediators to get our disputes and conflicts resolved.

Krasnava Zvezda (Moscow).

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE KATHARINE GRAHAM, ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER

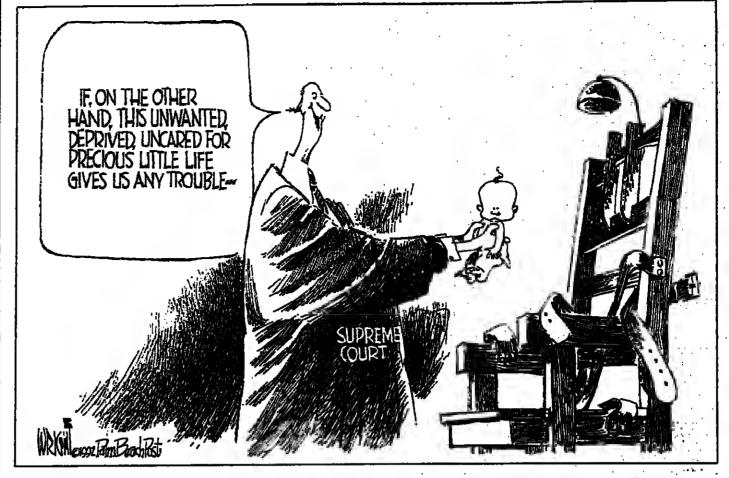
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Serbia Should Have to Answer for Its War Crimes

N EW YORK — Thousands of helpless civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina are without food or medizegovina are without food or medi-cine, at the mercy of Serbian forces that are shelling and blockading their cities and towns. "We are not danger-cus, we are not rich. We just don't count," Haris Silajdzic, the foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, la-mented the other day in New York. Mr. Silajdzic believes, perhaps with some unstification, that if Bos-

with some justification, that if Bosnia-Herzegovina were, say, oil-rich Kuwait, the United States and other world powers might oot be standing idly by talking about "fierce ethnie conflicts" that most play themselves out to the end.

The ethnic wars in the Balkans are not, as many want to believe, the results of age-old hostilities long repressed by the Communists and oow emerging spontaneously with re-newed force. They are the results of a relentless propaganda campaign, aimed at stirring up old tensions and engineered by Serbia's irresponsi-ble, power-mad leader, Slobodan Milosevic, a Communist who turned nationalist to further his own cause.

Mr. Milosevic developed what has

TIONOLULU — Many Indians are probably secretly relieved by the recent U.S. decision to impose sanctions on a deal that would enable

India to buy cryogenic rocket engines from Rus-

that it is business as usual between India and the

United States instead of a sudden, bewildering

and overpowering friendship.

The present standoff might even strengthen the

position of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao. His courageous effort to reorient the country's

domestic and foreign policies has exposed him to

charges of surrendering to U.S. imperialism.

Leftist political parties in India assert that the
World Bank and the International Monetary

Fund are dictating his market-opening measures. He is also under pressure from ambitious heavy-

weights in the governing Congress (I) Party.

The recent dispute with the United States

followed a proposal by India to develop its

satellite launching capability by purchasing Russian cryogenic rocket engines for \$250 million. Washington objected that the sale had military implications and violated the Missile Technology

Control Regime. Russia and India pointed out

that they are not signatories to the agreement, and they contend that the technology and equip-ment under discussion have only civilian applica-

tions. India plans to use the Russian system to

nications satellites.

This failing out, even if it does not end U.S.-

By Jeri Laber and Ivana Nizich

India and America: Back to Grumble-as-Usual

By Sunanda K. Datta-Ray

Indian rapprochement, is a reminder that one

India's refusal to sign the Nuclear Nonprolif-

cration Treaty on the ground that the pact discriminates against non-nuclear powers is a

major bone of contention.

Washington also seems to expect Mr. Rao to move overnight to scrap a 45-year-old system of

economic management, to protect U.S. intellec-tual property rights, to privatize insurance (now a state monopoly), and to abolish the agricultural subsidies that have made India self-sufficient in food. Recently, too, the U.S. State Department

charged that India was not doing enough to

control the production and supply of narcotics.

Indians are now questioning the need for joint training, exchange of personnel, naval currises

and other military cooperation with the United

States. They say that even in the heyday of New

Delhi's highly rewarding relationship with Mos-cow, the Soviet Union expected nothing similar.

Many Indians view the current security dia-

logue with Washington in the same light as the

refueling of U.S. planes in India during the Gulf War — as a U.S. propaganda exercise intended to demonstrate that India is aligned

with the West, but without yielding any special benefits, whether technology, military hard-

does not wish away serious differences.

become his distinctive pattern of ag-gression when he established a military occupation in the province of Kosovo in the late 1980s on the pretext of defending the Serbian minority there. The Albanians in Kosovo, who make up 90 percent of its population, once enjoyed autonomous status, but this came to an end when Mr. Milosevic moved his troops in and began a deliberate policy of colonization, re-settling Serbs in Kosovo and margina-

lizing the local population.

The Kosovo parliament was dissolved, about 50 major enterprises were seized (including hospitals and energy plants), and employees were fired from those institutions and from the media, which are now under strict Serbian control. The government closed Rilindja, the only Albanian-language daily in Kosovo. More than 85,000 people are said

to have lost their jobs.

In a series of secret meetings, the officially dissolved Kosovo parliament has declared Kosovo's sovereignty and adopted its own constitution. Ethnic Albanians held public elections on Sunday for new members of parlia-ment, but it is too soon to know what

the Serbian response will be.

Not much attention is paid to the repression in Kosovo these days, perhaps because open warfare has not occurred there. But if war were to break out in Kosovo — where nearly 2 million Albanians share a common border with at least as many in neigh-boring Albania — it would add a stick of dynamite to the already in-

flamed Balkan tinderbox.

Mr. Milosevic's subjugation of Ko-sovo was followed by attacks against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, os-tensibly to protect the Serbian popu-lations living in those regions. In each case he grossly exaggerated the threat. In fact, he is involved in an insatiable land grab. Under the pretext of protecting Serbs, his government — using the Yugoslav Army and Serbian paramilitary forces — has committed just about every crime against civilians known to international law summary executions has tional law: summary executions, hostage taking, indiscriminate shelling and destruction of towns and cities,

and forcible removal of populations.

These tactics have resulted in more than 12,000 dead and more than 1.5 million displaced in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The figures from Bosnia-Herzegovina are swelling these statistics by the day. Serbia is not the only violator of

human rights in these conflicts; each side is guilty of serious abuses. But Serbia has clearly emerged as the instigutor of the hostilities, and its refusal to negotiate has made it impossible to

to negonate has made it impossible to bring the conflicts to an end.

The United States, which supported Yogoslavia all through the Cold War years, must now urge every measure possible to shame and isolate Mr. Milosevic, including a call for an international tribunal to investigate Serbia's war crimes. Some of the Serbia's war crimes. Some of the worst dictatorships in the world have proved to be susceptible to interna-tional pressure. This is the time to keep the pressure on.

Jeri Laber is executive director of Helsinki Watch: Tvana Nizich is a research associate for that organiza-tion. They contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

ware, favorable trade terms or easy credit.,

These Indians accuse General Sumit Francis

Rodrigues, the army chief of staff, of succumb-

even Lal K. Advani, leader of the Bharatiya

Janata Party, a rightist Hindu revivalist group-ing, who recently toured the United States, complained that Washington was trying to turn

So Indian politicians are again making com

mon cause against a comfortably familiar adversary. Mr. Rao may not find this chorus of

criticism entirely unmelodious. He has increased India's foreign exchange reserves to \$4.3 billion, from \$555 million in January. He has persuaded the most doctrinaire MPs to

But he must also bear some of the blame for the resurgence of anti-American feeling. In-stead of taking the country with him, he kept

the budding relationship under close wraps. This secrecy, which seemed like a tactical error

at the time, may serve a political purpose now, if he uses it to unite Indians behind him in

The writer, editor of The Statesman in India is

well as duty in the coming environ-mental shakeout. We cannot change, nature's laws, but business's great

strength is its flexibility. We can

change the ways we do business. Those who react in time will prosper;

Development. He contributed this com-ment to the Herald Tribune.

1892: Carriage Upset

LONDON - As Lord Salisbury

was being driven to the Foreign Of-

fice yesterday afternoon [May 27]. his carriage was upset in St. James's street. When one horse attempted to

bolt, both animals became unman-

ageable and galloped away, and the

brougham was overturned and shat-tered. The coachman was thrown vio-

ers-by, who with much effort man-

aged to drag His Lordship out of the

IN OUR PAGES: 100. 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

those who do not will go under.

on leave as editor-in-residence at the East-West Center in Hawaii. He contributed this comment to

endorse his economic pragmatism.

standing up to the United States.

the International Herald Tribune.

India into a "satellite."

ing to American blandishments.

But while leftist criticism was to be expected

Use Trade For Rights In China

By Holly Burkhalter

WASHINGTON — This week President George Bush is expected to renew the favorable tariff treatment that enables China to ex-port goods to the United States at the lowest possible rates. Washington is deadlocked on the issue for the third deadlocked on the issue for the third straight year, and a new way to put pressure on China through trade sanctions is required. As it happens, the White House has discovered it.

Perhaps inadvertently, Mr. Bush is the architect of a potentially successful human rights policy toward China.

His approach of coddling Beijing, whispering occasional criticism and hoping for improvements has been an

hoping for improvements has been an abject failure. He has refused to end most-favored-nation status on the grounds that China's economy, in-cluding reform-sector industries, would be ravaged and the government's voices of economic modern-ization silenced. He has opposed even mild conditions on most-favored-nation treatment, apparently believing that Beijing will not or cannot meet minimal human rights standards. Yet for all his concern about hurt-

ing China's economy and the "re-formers" in the government, Mr. Bush was perfectly willing to threaten tough trade sanctions when U.S. economic interests were at stake.

Last December, in response to fail-me to honor U.S. patents and copy-rights, the U.S. trade representative, Carla Hills, exercised her legal authority and threatened to impose double tariffs on a selected group of Chinese exports including footwear, clothing and electronic appliances. This would effectively cut those important foreign, exchange earners out of the U.S. market. Once the names of the products appeared in the Federal Register, Beijing, seeing that Mrs. Hills meant busi-ness, said Chinese law would be amended and U.S. demands met. The,

threat of sanctions was dropped. A comparable approach should be used to extract human rights concessions. Tariff penalties should be selectively imposed and incrementally increased until significant numbers of prisoners are released, basic religious freedoms are respected and later the personners and later the personners are released. bor camps and prisons are opened for

international inspection.

A strategy of selective penalties; could be devised that would permit.

could be devised that would permit many imports from the burgeoning private sector to enter the United States at low tariff levels while slaping exports from government-owned industries with prohibitive rates.

If Beijing failed to respond, tariff increases could be imposed on more products, and the screws tightened regularly. If China stonewalled, incremental increases could eventually mean a total loss of tariff benefits.

A particular advantage of incre-

A particular advantage of incre-mental increases in tariff rates for Chinese goods is that they would force Beijing to grapple with the economic costs of its human rights abuses. If revenues from foreign trade fell signif-icantly as a result of a failure to release political prisoners, the fate of those prisoners would likely become a con-

ocm at high levels of the government. Selective penalties would permit Congress to single out categories of goods thought to be produced in print ons and forced labor camps. The Customs Service timidly refuses to ber-entire categories of imports; despite-laws prohibiting prison-made goods, and has stopped only paltry handfuls of socks, wrenches and diesel engines. China's huge nuclear explosion last Thursday, flouting efforts to curb proliferation, has inflamed Capitol Hill outrage over Beijing's misbehav-ior and provoked calls for trade sanctions. Using the leverage provided by

the most favored-nation relationship is absolutely necessary if the United States expects China to make sub-stantial human rights and nonprolifcration concessions.

During congressional delibera

tions on the trade status in 1990 when renewal seemed to be in ready seemed to be in ready jeopardy, Beijing released hundred of political prisoners. But once Mr. Bush's support was clear and the votes were counted in Congress, the suspense was over in Beijing, and so were the hundred of the support of the su were the human rights concessions. This year, if Congress insisted on the same approach to human rights concerns that the executive branch has exercised on trade grievances, it has exercised on trade grievances, it is hard to imagine how Mr. Bushcould oppose it.

The writer, a Swiss industrialist is. persuade Deng Xiaoping and Li.
Peng that political prisoners are as important to Washington as U.S. principal adviser for business and in-dustry to the secretary-general of the UN Conference on Environment and Development, and chairman of the Business Council for Environment and patents and copyrights.

The writer is Washington director of Human Rights Watch. She courributed this comment to The New York Times.

Earth-Friendliness Is Going to Be Good Business

GENEVA — Conventional wis-dom must change. It is precisely those industries, and those nations, that do not take the environment seriously that will lose their competitive edge in the near future.
This is the main conclusion of 48

chief executive officers and chairmen — from companies like Dow, Du Pont, Mitsubishi, Nippon Steel, Shell and Volkswagen — who together ex-

We see opportunity as well as duty in the coming environmental shakeout.

amined environmental and developmental issues over the past year. This is also the conclusion we will be sending to the Earth Summit, which begins next week in Rio de Janeiro. When we first met, many of us

doubted that business goals could be reconciled with the goal of maintain-ing a safe and productive environ-ment. But we found that the two sets of goals are linked by the simple concept of efficiency. Efficiency keeps companies competitive, adds the greatest value with the least use of resources, and is crucial in fight-

ing poverty in the world. So we on the Business Council for Sustainable Development coined the term "eco-efficiency" to describe these corporations that produce ever more useful goods and services while continuously reducing resource consumption and pollation.

Some government leaders, and many businesspeople, fear that business excellence and environmental concern cannot be combined. We found the opposite; they cannot be separated. After studying worldwide business trends, we agreed that tomorBy Stephan Schmidheiny

row's winners will be those who most quickly improve their eco-efficiency.

Why: First, customers are demanding cleaner products. Second, the best employees prefer to work for environmentally responsible corporations. Third, banks are more willing to lead to companies that prevent pollution than to those that have to pay large sums for cleamups. Fourth, insurance companies are more amenable to covering clean companies. Fifth, environ-mental regulations are getting tougher. Sixth, new economic instruments taxes, charges and tradable permits reward ever cleaner companies.
All these trends, which will acceler-

ate as science offers more evidence of the threat to the environment, mean that investments in eco-efficiency will help, not hurt, profitability. It is the eco-efficient companies, and countries, which will emerge more competitive as these trends take hold. An earlier global study by a Har-vard Business School professor, Mi-chael Porter, made the same point:

The nations with the toughest environmental standards at home often lead in the export of the products affected by those standards. This truth has its requirements for

both business and governments. We in business must begin to integrate eco-efficiency into the total life cycles, including the design, of our products. We must learn to view the cost of changing to more environmentally compatible products and processes as an investment rather than as a burden.

We are not starting from zero. In the "quality revolution," many indus-tries did the seemingly impossible, producing higher quality products at lower cost. They did this by designing quality into products and production systems from the beginning, rather than relying on the expensive ap-proach of discarding rejects at the end of the assembly line. By incorpo-

rating eco-efficiency system-wide, we can win the next revolution: higher environmental quality at lower cost. Governments can support us with measures to ensure that prices of resources, goods and services increasingly reflect the total cost, including the environmental cost, of their production, use, recycling and disposal. Governments will want to go beyond traditional command-and-control reg-ulatory approaches and use more mar-ket-oriented solutions to reward those

who innovate and improve to the benchit of the environm Governments will also want to keep trade free and open, allowing all countries the chance to develop and thus to manage their natural resources more efficiently. The current strength of U.S. exports to Latin America shows that, as poorer countries develop, their success creates jobs in the industrial countries.

The collapse of communism dem-onstrated clearly that the open market economy, with its greater overall efficiency, is the best system for creating wealth and safeguarding the en-vironment. Governments will now want to ensure that these markets reflect environmental as well as economic truths. Otherwise our market systems are in danger.

part of any country's capital stock, and the basis for all progress. Yes, we in business have a moral duty to protect the environment and

help ensure the survival of future gencrations. But we see opportunity as

Business wants to be a partner to governments in this effort. After all, environmental resources are a emeial

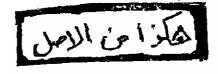
1917: Bombs Kill 76

LONDON — Seventy-six persons have been killed in an aerial raid made over South-east England between 5:45 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. yesterday [May 26] by seventeen German

in the square of a town on the coast, where a large number of women, aged men and children were gathered. In a few minutes fifty bombs were dropped into the midst of the crowd in the square. Files of German aeroplanes appeared, followed by a flank guard. Fifteen minutes after the massacre heavy cannoning was heard in the distance. The British fleet mounted but was too late to fight.

lently and lay in the roadway with the carriage on top of him. Lord Salis-bury remained in the carriage until 1942: Chinese Resist the arrival of some police and pass

CHUNGKING — [From our New York edition:] Chinese defenders hurled the Japanese back from two to nine miles in three directions from the outskirts of Kinhwa, killing an-other 3,000 of the enemy, to raise Japanese losses in the Chekiang Province campaign to 8,000 men, it was revealed today [May 26]. Manual while at China's western end Justinese mechanized reinforcement were reported entering French China, raising fears of a methodical simplanes. Twenty-seven of them China, raising fears of a new were women. Most fatalities occurred drive into Yunnan Province.



OPINION

ASHINGTON — The Market of the Market of the County of the China's economy and the control in the government in the government of the control of the contro

Same to the Sign Charles and £ *** Or a selected group of the was in fact. CAP TE including footers & وهشا محلات and electronic appliances her The Property of es describe out those important CONTRACTO SEASON LE CHARLES BY: Once the names of the ne 200 to 120 The of the A separation to Chinese law and K. C. emended and U.S. demand it. Manager Annual and threat of sanctions was dropped CAR WILL A comparable approach - sec to extract human night ac 供給 カイフィン THE LOW N. P. L. cor: Tartif penalties should W11 - --a de la configuración Section of the the works have the the state of The Bonn to

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MADRID — The monster tears apart his VI bleeding son with his teeth and devours him. This was Geya's vision and cry of despair. Under typenay, a nation eats its children alive, and in an experiment of the services are services. doing so consumes itself

For about 170 years, Spaniards who have seen that Goya painting, now in the Prado Museum, have known instantly what it means. They lived the vision when it was painted about 1820, and they

ON MY MIND

fixed it through most of the passing years, through dictates sup foreign invasion and civil war.

But this is a year of celebration, the year of

Bat his is a year of celebration, the year of Spanial Europe. It is one great splash of a summer for Spanial with the Olympics in Barcelona, the work Apposition in Seville and the festival of culmist Madrid, all coming together to give the cominy special bosines and pride.

This is a country long in history, but its years of political freedom have made it startlingly young in zest. Economically it still has problems, but political theory has paid off in jobs and profit.

Now the counting on the wall is a memory of what life used to be, not what it is. But standing before it and realization comes, strong, that as

before it me realization comes, strong, that as Spain celebrates its freedom other countries in



For Right
The Monster Can Be Tamed

By A. M. Rosenthal

Enrope are still paying the price of despotism.

Unlike Spain, the toll on the passage to freedom is an economic earthquake for the countries that once were the Soviet Union. And unlike Spain, in the countries that were once Yugoslavia the monster still devours the children.

For all these countries, is there anything to be learned from the Spanish transition to democracy? Carlos Fuentes, the Mexican writer, points to some lessons in his new book on Spain, "The Broken Mirror." One of them is that when Franco died in 1975, the Spanish people managed to do what few nations ever accomplish — rethink the past. They recollected the democracy that sporadically existed in

Spain, knowing that it, too, was part of their tradition, and made a national decision to follow the road again. But the transition was not a smooth miracle. Six years after it began, freedom came within a few telephone calls of ending. In 1981 the powerful

generals staged a coup to destroy the democracy.

The generals gambled that King Juan Carlos I, prepared and anointed by Franco, would join them. But the king made his own gamble. From his palace, after hearing the news on television with his young son sitting beside him, he selephoned the generals with orders to return themselves and their troops to the barracks. They obeyed.

The king relishes the memory of those telephone calls. So does Spain. The Spanish experience is different in important ways from what is taking place in the wreckage of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The Yugoslavia that emerged from World War II was created by Marshal Tito. The Soviet Union was less than three decades older — and unified only by conquest and police edict. Both nations dissolved when the central dictatorships died. Spain has been Spain for centuries. It neither began with Franco nor died with him.

And there is this difference: While he lived, Franco was never able to overwhelm the nation's history, culture and economy as the Soviet Union did in its empires at home and in Eastern Europe. Yet although the story of Spain does not neatly overlay the Balkans and the Soviet Union, the

Goya still resounds through the Prado gallery. But now the message is not only of despri Heard in free Spain, the painting also says that the monsters of tyranny one day will themselves be devoured and the children will live.

The New York Times.

Pop-Culture Mirrors Should Scare Us All

By Jonathan Yardley

WASHINGTON — It is easy It is equally irresponsible, though, to be contemptuous of Dan to claim that there is no connection moral and intellectual range.

It is easy, too, to be contemptuous phy Brown" is a root cause of Amer-

MEANWHILE

ican moral decay and thus, somehow, of the Los Angeles riots. The implication that the gang members and criminals who were the chief participants in those riots watch a show for and about the postferninist, upwardly mobile, white middle class is ludicrous.

Yet it is difficult to dismiss the argument that there is a connection between the behavior patterns of American society and the images, or "values," implicitly promoted by the machinery of mass culture.

Just because Dan Quayle was
talking twaddle in San Francisco
does not mean that there is no rea-

son to be concerned about the socially undesirable effects of mass culture. To the contrary, it may be that nothing in contemporary society is more injurious to the general well-being than the mirror images we hold up to ourselves in the ba-

zaar of popular culture.

The relationship between enter-tainment and behavior has been the subject of many studies, but they are by their nature slippery and inconcategorized or explained away with the precision of the hard sciences.

Quayle, for all the obvious reasons. between what we see, hear and read No doubt he is smarter than his and what we do. The images of mass detractors would have us believe, culture - especially of television, but he is still a smirky, spoiled rich the movies and popular music — are boy with a cramped range of expe- not merely pervasive, they are rerience and an even more cramped markably consistent in character. That we could go unaffected by them is inconceivable. Sweeping of the vice president's view that the generalizations about these images television situation comedy "Mur- are risky, but it is worth the effort to make a few. They portray a society in which "traditional values" the nuclear family, religion, educa-tion — are either nonexistent or OF COURSE, THERE ARE SOME ACCEPTABLE HOLLYWOOD ROLE MODELS...

scorned; in which sexual license is absolute while its consequences, both social and moral, are lampooned or ignored; in which "selffulfillment" and "self-esteem" are valued more highly than sacrifice and discipline; in which discourse is imprecise and debased; in which violence is intense, abiquitous and, like sexual license, oddly devoid of lasting or injurious consequences.

What they portray is a fantasy land in which the basest human desires are elevated to the beights of legitimacy. These images and the "values" for which they argue make a mockery of the traditional American assumption, born of national optimism and naïvete, that history is a constant upward process, the irresistible march of "progress."
Perhaps it is a chicken-and-egg

question. If American culture is in decline and the American nation is in decline, then which came first? Is Murpby Brown having her baby on television because single parenthood bas metamorphosed from a plague on the poor to a fad among 40isb yuppies, or are un-married mothers having their ba-bies because Murpby Brown is? decades ago — is routine in every-thing from advertising to rap mu-sic. So is explicit violent imagery.

In a provocative new book called tion are entertaining themselves "Carnival Culture," James B. Twit- with more hate-filled, sadistic and More likely the former than the latter, yet the possibility that peochell cites a study of best-selling gruesome material than any previ-books made four years ago by the ous generation of buman beings." ple wittingly or otherwise take their cues from mass culture and its icons cannot be dismissed. National Conference on Television Those cues seem to be especially Violence. It found a 61 percent increase in anti-social or pro-violence alluring so far as sex and violence themes in fiction from 1966 to are concerned. The constraints that

1988, and reported: civilization has built up around In the past 20 years violent these deep urges have largely been books have been more intensely satorn away by mass culture, Explicit sexual imagery — such as would have been unthinkable only a few distic and gruesome than anything ever making the best-seller list in American history. Satanic and horror themes have become common-

illegal aliens.

The same can be said of movies television and music, which are far

more potent media than print. It cannot be coincidence that random violence is increasing at

the same time that such violence is mythologized in mass culture; that out-of-wedlock childbirth is increasing at the same time that unfettered sexual indulgence is celebrated in the same culture; that respect for education and self-discipline is declining at the same time that the culture places higher value on inarticulate self-expression and unlimited self-gratification. Mass culture is giving mass soci-

attempt to invade Bosnia could lead ette, bed and welfare for the child ety exactly what it wants. Mr. Twitof unemployed Americans "with chell points out that serving the devisa problems" - which is to say, sires of the lowest common denominator is a lot harder than critics imagine it to be; the mass market is quick and emphatic in L, for one, intend to vote for the American presidential candidate who ensures that unemployed illerejecting what it does not like or gal aliens get nothing from taxpaywant and thus resists manipulation. The images of violence and sexers. They contribute nothing to so-

uality and unbridled vulgarity that dominate mass culture have been filtered through a rigorous process of selection that only a few can survive. So not merely is mass culture sending us insidious and injurious messages, it is telling us what we want to hear.

The Washington Post.

CARTIER... FOR 140 YEARS I NITENIA

LEGEND WITH REALITY. A HISTORY AND

clusive. Human behavior cannot be

Asian Militarism

Regarding the report That Prorections are released in Pleases Spread as Army Efforts Fail
in freedoms are respected in Capital (May 20):

Tapan's statement, after Thai troops shot down demonstrators in Bungkok, that "we regard the Suthe derived that will re chinds government as a legitimate, constitutional government was constitutional government was constitutional government was constitutional transfer and constitutional than it is to kill people of the constitutional than it is to kill people constitutional constitu

Brung faled to report: As the ugly head of militarism

brothers to stop it.

JOJO BALAN,

Gorby Deserves Better Regarding "Dark Tales From Gorbachev's Inner Circle" (Opinion,

May 22) by Flora Lewis: As a Muscovite on a short visit to Paris, I was shocked by this col-umn. Flora Lewis seems to forget that it was thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev and his reforms that Alex-

to your newspaper.
"Gorbymania," after all, is noth-

ing but people's desire to thank Mr. Gorbachev for opening the doors to change in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

It is difficult to accept the con-clusion that Mr. Gorbachev was involved in the August 1991 putsch simply because "the plotters thought he was with them." That is mere presumption.
As to the "feuds" in his adminis-

tration; well, differences of opinion exist in every government.

their history, but also to their Asian that someone like myself can write cism for his sometimes vacillating and contradictory ways; but surely the man who did so much for so many and who was largely responsi-ble for ending the Cold War deserves a more honorable appraisal.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TATIANA KUDRYARTSEVA.

A Serbian Protest

The Serbian National Council of France wishes to express its strongest protest against the appeals that have appeared in your pages for severe sanctions against Serbia.

the New World Order; our president. Slobodan Milosevic, is described as a terrible Communist tyrant; the Serbian people are ide out to be criminals.

Such portrayals, rather than beloing solve the conflicts in Yugoslavia, tend to aggravate them.
As far as a possible Western mili-

tary intervention in Bosnia, let us not forget that this mountainous country, along with Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Krajina, was a stronghold of Serbian resistance during World War II, when Serbs fought alongside the Allies against the Ger-I Cana some in particular, because of so openly or, for that matter,

weakness, would never stand by and watch the assassination of Orthodox Serbia, knowing that the fall of the latter would mean the

KOMNEN BECIROVIC.

It also seems clear that Ortho-dox Russia, for all its economic

to history repeating itself.

beginning of its own fall.

No Friend of the Illegals Regarding "Security Worth the

Cost" (Letters, May 15):

ciety, and have no right to be there. At any rate, the United States is more generous than France in one key regard: Everyone born in

America is an American citizen. ROBERT TRACY. Copenhagen.

GENERAL NEWS

grapple with the sec Brazil Fraternal Clash as Affair of State presoners, the lands

are a mer, would likely besself . . . By James Brooke

So out a penalted total F New York Times Service RIO DE JANEIRO — Two

weeks before President Fernando

con and forced labor cause is Collor de Mello is to welcome 100 unual ries i national leaders to an environmenof months tal summit meeting here, his dothe state of many an summit meeting here, his dominimum prompting mettic prestige has been damaged
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Figures efforts the president's younger brother, has militable charged in interviews that Mr. Collins of Reputs of interviews that mr. Collins of Reputs of the interviews that he president uses his former campaign treasurer as a "front man" for illicit deals used in the interviews, the president announced many harman that he would be the president announced many harman that he would be the president announced many harman that he would many harman harman harman harman harman harman harman harman harman harma

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ACROSS

1 Desert dweller

6 Eliot's "cruelles

5 State, on the

brothers, dismissed Pedro Mello manager: pocketed \$15 million in from the presidency of the family media business last week, saying that he was going through "a seri-ous emotional crisis."

The president, 42, and his brother, 39, are addressed differently because Mr. Collor chose to use his mother's family name when he ran for president in 1989. In the most serious charge, Mr.

Mello alleged that Paulo Cesar Ca-valcante Farias, treasurer of Mr. Collor's 1989 presidential camtheir home state of Alagoas. He charged that the campaign first 14 months of the Collor gov-

campaign funds; extorted multi-million-dollar kickbacks from a Mr. Pari company that prints tickets for a national lottery; bought a \$2.7 million apartment for the president in Paris, and entered in a silent part-nership with the president to form a media group consisting of a news-paper and 12 radio stations. The group was to compete directly with

Alagoas, which consists of a newspaper, a television station and several radio stations. zil's economy minister during the

ernment. She is not related to the Mr. Parias said that the charges

were groundless. Mr. Mello said that he recently started to receive death threats. In the event of an attempt on his life, he said, he has stored in a New York City bank vault a videotape detailing corruption allegations against his brother and Mr. Farias. Perhaps equally damaging to the president are Mr. Mello's allegathe Collor family media group in tions that he was "induced" by his brother into taking cocaine in the early 1970s.

Brazil's Congress, which is domi-nated by opposition parties, is not expected to push for a commission of inquiry, fearing that it could lead to impeachment charges and could seriously destabilize Brazilian democracy. Brazil's president is also believed to be gambling that the excrement of 100 heads of state visiting this city in early June will push his brother's allegations off the front pages of the newspapers.

Bread Rationing in Mongolia

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia — Mongolia began rationing bread on Tuesday to try to ensure minimum food supplies for its urban popula-tion, officials said. A family of three is to receive a loaf every sec-

Compensation Ends 'Dingo Baby' Affair lains, who are now divorced, had insisted from the

SYDNEY — Australia's "dingo baby" saga ended when authorities agreed to \$980,000 payment to Lindy and Michael Chamberlain for wrongful conviction in connection with the 1980 disappearance of their 9-week-old daughter, Azeria ...

The consensus on make a consensus on make a consensus on make a consensus on make a consensus of the consens Mis. Chamberlain was convicted of murder and her husband of being an accessory. The Chamber-

19 Earl (Fatha)

20 Quasimodo's

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22 Cosmetics

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outset that a dingo, a wild dog, had taken Azaria from their tent while they were staying at a camp-

After years of appeals, a royal commission over-turned the convictions on the basis of questionable

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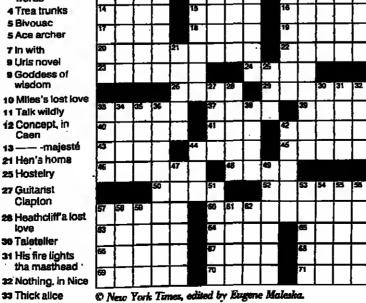
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evidence presented by the prosecution. The case was the subject of a widely acclaimed movie, "A Cry in the Dark," which starred Meryl Streep and Sam Neill.



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66 Yenta's tidbit 67 Sicilian spoutar 68 Check 68 Tommy'a guns 70 Observed 71 Gymnasts' perfect scores

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Cartier. L'art d'être unique

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Short of Water, Short of Peace, Refugees Put Strain on Kenya

By Keith B. Richburg

WALDA REFUGEE CAMP, Kenya — The magmitude of East Africa's refugee crisis is plain to see in this barren corner of northern Kenya near the Ethiopi-

A year ago, it was a dusty village crossroads of 50 reopie - an extended family clan occupying a few hats in a parched wasteland traversed mainly by

Today, Walda is a spreading city of 35,000, and it is getting bigger by the hour. Most of the new arrivals are refugees fleeing civil war in southern Ethiopia and the effects of a drought that threatens the Horn of Africa with widespread famine.

United Nations refugee experts estimate that bundreds of Ethiopians cross the border each day, and they are straining the ability of the Kenvan government and international relief agencies to supply them with such basic needs as food, water and health care.

On a recent day bere, scores of emaciated women many with infants on their backs -- lined up under a scorching sun to be processed by aid workers. The infants, all tiny and underfied, would be measured and weighed to determine the extent of their malnutrition.

The women, bearing their weakening babies and ragged bundles of belongings, had walked for days over inhospitable terrain to get bere. The journey showed on their exhausted, plaintive faces. When pressed, some said they came to seek food for their habies or to escape the fighting across the border in

Some refugees here and at other Kenyan camps have spent much of their lives fleeing ethnic or political conflicts in the region. One young man here, a Somali, fled his country for a refugee camp in Ethiopia several years ago. Now at Walda, he has become part of what aid officials call a new class of "professional refugees" who travel from site to site in an endless

Ethiopians account for less than balf of a huge regional migration that has turned Kenya into one of the world's largest refugee sanctuaries. East of Walda,

thousands of Somalis pour across the frontier every day, fleeing incessant clan-based warfare that has reduced Somalia to anarchy. The violence there shows few signs of abating despite continuing peace efforts by the United Nations, and the refugee tide is expect-

to surge higher still. Kenya, which supported just 14,000 refugees in 1990, is now home to more than 250,000, mostly Somalis and Ethiopians but also growing numbers of Sudanese and Ugandans. If the current influx continues - and the warfare and deteriorating food situation throughout the region suggest that it will - UN aid specialists estimate that Kenya's refugee population could reach 750,000 by year's end.

Aid workers say that as many as 50,000 of these new arrivals could come from Sudan, where the Islamic military government in Khartoum has been waging a strong offensive against separatist rebel forces in the

Aid workers say they fear the situation in Kenya already has reached crisis proportions because of the steady flood of migrants into such remote, illequipped locations as Walda, their desperate condition when they arrive and the dearth of government resources to care for them.

"It's because of the rapidity of the influx; it's been almost overwhelming," said Carrol Faubert, the resi-dent representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. This population arrives in extremely bad shape. Some are wounded. Some are in a general state of malnutrinon."

About 100 refugees die each day from malnutrition, diarrhea or a variety of diseases. Refugee officials say that is about four times what would normally be expected in a refugee population the size of Kenya's.
Kenya's available refugee camps have already been overwhelmed. The UN refugee agency has facilities for 130,000 refugees, barely half what is now needed.

For Kenya, the sudden refugee tide poses a host of difficult problems in a country already grappling with severe drought, an emergent multiparty political system and a surge in tribal violence that has claimed

barbed fence at Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. The White House said Thais Look to Opposition to Form a Government

IDENTITY CRISIS — Haitian refugees, with newly issued identity cards, at a Tuesday that the Coast Guard was returning about 40 Haitians it had rescued in

By Philip Shenon New York Times Service

BANGKOK - The militarybacked five-party coalition that controls Thailand's government was on the verge of collapse Tuesday as a result of the violent crackdown on democracy demonstrations last week.

While there was some discussion that the five parties might cling to power, lawmakers from all parties seemed to agree that the coalition's credibility among voters was non-existent, and that opposition parties would now have to be given a chance to form a new, untainted

Many Thais say that leaders of the five parties share blame for the bloodshed, since several of them stood behind the prime minister, General Suchinda Kraprayoon, when troops moved against democracy demonstrators in the streets of Bangkok, killing scores and perhaps bundreds of people. General Suchinda, who was

named prime minister by the coalition last month, resigned Sunday and is in hiding The state of emergency, decreed

by his government in the face of opposition protests, was lifted Tuesday and troops returned to their barracks.

The justice minister, Sawat Kamprakob, proposed Tuesday

that the opposition parties be given "the opportunity to show their ability" to form a government. He named five possible candidates to replace General Suchinda as prime

Among them was Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, a longstanding ri-val of General Suchinda who leads the opposition New Aspiration

On Monday, the five-party coali-tion, responding to the public fury over the bloodshed, moved quickly to amend the constitution in ways that would end the military's stranglehold on the political system. Final approval of the amendments is expected next month.

The death count from the clashes remained a matter of speculation in Bangkok, as the families of hun-

dreds of missing people pleaded for been brought to hospitals in mili-information about their loved ones. "So where have the bodies

The government has said that 48 people died in the violence, but from most accounts that figure is low. The police in Bangkok said Tuesday that it had received reports that 589 people were missing since the clashes.

The president of the Law Society of Thailand, said lawyers from his group had interviewed witnesses who had seen troops attack civilians last week, and learned that "soldiers put dead people onto trucks and drove them away."

The society president, Sak Kho-sangruang, said that his group had also raiked with doctors at military and civilian hospitals in Bangkok, who reported that no bodies had

gone?" Mr. Sak asked, adding that the Interior Ministry and other government agencies had re to assist in the search. Mr. Sak said he believed that the

the Caribbean, the first to be shipped back under a new executive order:

military leaders who ordered the attacks on demonstrators should face criminal investigation and prosecution. He said that an anniesty order

sued Sunday in the name of General Suchinda and King Bhumbol Adulyadej was unconstitutional and would almost certainly be overturned by a government tribunal of judges and lawyers that is

The amnesty decree would ber

the prosecution of General Se-chinds and all other government officials involved in the crackdown.

If the annesty decree reduces a effect, Mr. Sak and, "the simulan will become fairly topredictable. and there may be more mass dem-

At the National Institute of Davelopment Administration, a givernment-sponsored university in Banekok, several students were as the telephone Tuesday, trying to gather information on their list of missing persons.

Kanitta Thitakamol, a 24-year old student volunteer, said the missing were mostly young Their. from bankers and garage mechan ies to journalists. Many are sta-

Victor Emerges in Philippines making preparations Tuesday to Philippine system a simple plurali-

By David E. Sanger New York Times Service

MANILA - More than two weeks after Filipinos went to the polls in a test of the country's fledgline democracy, Fidel V. Ramos. the former general who once enforced the decrees of Ferdinand E. Marcos and then turned on him in the "People Power" revolution, has emerged as the clear winner in un-

Mr. Ramos, while stopping short of declaring victory, was already process may last weeks. Under the

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must pass one more hurdle: Cerufication of the election results by the Philippine legislature, It has heard claims from Mr. Ramos's leading opponents that the vote tallies are fraudulent and should be thrown

Congress began its official tally of the votes Tuesday night, but the

take office, visiting President Cora- ty is sufficient to win, meaning that zon C. Aquino and beginning to Mr. Ramos may become president plan his cabinet. Before be is pro- with the 25 percent of votes cast claimed president, however, be that he now appears to command.

In unofficial results released by a

government-sanctioned group that is assembling a "quick count" of the tally sheets being sent to the legislature, Mr. Ramos had 4.2 million votes, a million more than either of his two closest rivals, Miriam D. Santiago and Eduardo Cojuangco. About 75 percent of the precincts have reported, but the group bas expressed suspicions about the long delays surrounding the remaining ballots.

The Philippines' most influential religious leader, Cardinal Jaime Sin, seemed to reject arguments that Mr. Ramos and the Aquino government stole the election, saying that there was no evidence of massive fraud.

TOKYO - The governing Liberal Demo-

cratic Party has threatened to call a snap general election unless two smaller parties agree to support a bill allowing the immediate use of Japanese troops in United Nations peacekeep-

The Liberal Democrats have control of the House of Representatives but lack a majority in. the upper House of Councillors. In the upper

pass legislation.

The chairman of the centrist Democratic Socialists, Keigo Ouchi, said Tuesday the threat of a general election had been made by Shin Kanemaru, the 77-year-old "godfather" of the

Japan's Ruling Party Presses Others on UN Peace Role

The smaller parties refused to give up their demands that the proposed legislation be

house, they rely on the Democratic Socialist amended. It is widely assumed that in a general Party, a centrist group, and the Komei Party, to pass legislation. "This shows the concert of the Liberal Dono.

> to cooperate on this important bill with such an arrogant government. The bill, approved by the lower house has year, needs only to clear the upper house to be

cratic Party," Mr. Ouchi said. "We cannot offer

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ogical terms. and the same of th חולים והוסיתפווטו C. Julia piesse nonement (NV). gyppe de

> are given in concert versions. The problem, according to the weary but be-mused losefowski, is that when the old hydranic

tunately, it started to degrade within the system."



Playing It Straight Munich Fest Reflects Image of City

Henze draws the line

at improvisational

By John Rockwell New York Times Service

UNICH — Munich, the capital of Bavaria, is a conservative city both politically and operatically. In 1988, the composer Hans Werner Henze at our ochange that with the first Munich Bienmial, a monthlong "International Festival for New Music Theater" performed in theaters all over the city. Cariously, however, to judge from several of the offerings at this year's biennial, the third, he has

created a conservative festival that reflects the city it is trying to transform.

The biennial's intentions are excellent and their realization even more so. Henze believes, as he put it

in an interview recently, that composers can be encouraged to transcend the narrow strictmes of modernism by numering themselves in the theater.

Too many composers have shied away from the important matter of communication," he said, pacing in the elegant Munich apartment he now uses three months a year.

"I am of the opinion that young composers should learn to narrate properly," he contin-ued. "Almost all composers

who write for the theater learn to work in long nusical forms without running out of breath. The theater puts them in touch with movement, breath-ing, weeping, suffering — all the physical and emo-tional aspects of a human being. When they finish their piece, their music becomes infected with all of this; they find it hard to get rid of it again."

The festival was born in the mid-1980s, when the

battle between what Henze perceived as formalist modernism and more open, humanistic kinds of postmodernism was still being waged in earnest. The city of Munich sought him out to stage some sort of event, and he proposed the biennial. The city now supports the festival with 4.8 million Deutsche marks (53 million) per biennial. Co-producers and corporate sponsors provide \$2 million more.

Henze's opposition to the sterner forms of mod-emism is not only aesthetic but also political, since he has been an outspoken leftist for decades. He is as caper to elevate audience tastes as he is to bend This year, he is offering an opera composed by a group of amateurs who have labored for months in a special workshop.

"This is a composer's festival, a place for experimentation," he said. But he is hardly a wild-eyed, anarchic experimentalist, and of late he has taken to maintene experimentals, and of rate he has taken in the firsting about an excessive "softness" in bicamial scores and about "the shallowly simplistic outward manifestations of the postmodern," as he put it in the introduction to this year's bicamial program.

This is by no means a democratic festival: Henze compression all the compression of the complete.

commissions all the composers and often combines them with directors, designers and performers of his choice. Peter Lieberson, whose "King Gesar," an houriong sketch for an opera, was given its first performance here last week, said he wanted David Bowie as his narrator. Henze rejected that idea — "We couldn't have afforded his fee and he couldn't

have done it anyway" — and selected instead a speaker and singer named Omar Ebrahim, who performed the part alertly if rather ornately.

Henze works hard to obtain every sort of variety in his selections — mostly young people, but men and women, West and East Europeana, Americans, Third Worlders, whites and blacks and browns and yellows. But he firmly draws the line at improvisational and electronic music.

"This whole thing is about music as written language," he said. "About music treated as if it were a continuity of signs and syntax and grammar."

Naturally, any selection leads to uneven results. Henze said he suspected that this year's strongest

scores would come in the latter part of the biennia which ends Saturday. People in Manich have said that so far this has been the weakest of the three biennials. What can be said, and what was reaffirmed by three evenings of performances, is that all

the music stays securely within contemporary composition.

Perhaps the most interesting pieces came on May 18, a double bill of puppet plays. Henze founded a Munich Puppet School linked to the biennial and commissions composers to

and electronic music. and commissions composers to create works of musical Figurentheater, as he calls it, a term he hopes will overcome the childish connotations of the word puppet. Of the two plays, both scored for string trio, "Hero and Leander" by the American composer

Marti Epstein, with unusual abstract "figures" depicting the characters, made a stronger impression than Susanne Erding Swiridoff's more conventionally abrasive "Marvelous Tale of Peter

On May 19, a similar cliched modernism—grating sound and sight to no discernible expressive purpose—affected Gerhard Stabler's "Shade. Fall, Beil," loosely translated in the program as "One Fell Swoop." Henze, who expressed reservations about the communicativeness of the music, said he did addite the opera's flamboyant Grand Chrimol librative and the score was exceptions and Guignol libretto, and the score was certainly well performed by the Philharmonic State Orchestra of Bremen and by the singers. Lieberson, who conducted his "King Gesar," had

ng instrumental support for his epic as well. This version was commissioned by Henze for the cellist Yo-Yo Ma and the pianists Peter Serkin and Emanuel Ax, to whom Lieberson added the narrator and five more instrumentalists. The piece, which alter-nates nervous martial bustle with somewhat more related meditative passages, was greeted with great enthusiasm at the premiere, as were the performers. Its overt pictorial qualities would be abetted by a proper staging, however, and it seemed odd in a lestival of new music theater to dispense with the

Otherwise, for all of Henze's imposition of his own tastes, his bicomial offers much to be admired. The commissions are generous: \$30,000 for a fulllength work, now given out a full two years in advance. The theaters and halls suit the works performed. Young, cager audiences crowd the per-formances and seem truly enthusiastic.

The Slime Intermission Bavarian Opera Plagued by Bacteria

UNICH, Germany — If the idea of proliferating, unstoppable yellow sime bringing the most modern machinery to a halt seems like something out of a science-fiction horror film, welcome to the Bavarian State Opera, where exactly that is happening.

happening.

For months, the slime has spread through the hydraulic system of the National Theater here, where the State Opera performs — or remaining for water me State Opera performs — or thes to perform. The hydrandic system is responsible for all movements of the stage machinery in this, one of the largest, most modern and inost technically sophisticated theaters in Europe.

The hydrandics control entire stage sets moving on rolling side stages, the platforms rising up and down and the movements of stage flats and panels. Productions are designed with this mechanicy in

Productions are designed with this machinery in

mind, and some are unperformable without it.

The slime clogs vents and filters, the theater's computer system senses the discrepancy in pres-sure but doesn't know what the problem is, and so it shuts down the whole system for security rea-sons," explained Vollor Josefowski, the theater's technical director.

When the system is shut down, it can't be restarted until the vents and filters have been cleared. That means a performance must be halted in middlight. So far, no one has been hurt, and some productions

are continuing with compromises.

But especially complicated Munich productions, like Verdi's "Nabucco" and Krzysztof Penderecki's "Ubu Rex." which rely heavily on the hydraulic system, have been stricken from the repertory. Others, like Wagner's "Götterdämmerung." without which the company can't perform its en-tire, scenically spectacular, four-evening "Ring,"

system was overhauled in stages in the 1980s, a decision was made to replace water (the old fluid) with oil. Not just any oil, but 50,000 liters of an ecologically correct, Dutch-made substance called Quintolubric, which has been successfully used in

"It's biodegradable," Josefowski said. "Unfor-When the Quintolnbric was introduced into the hydraulic pipes, some of which were left over from the old system, the technicians were told a small amount of residual water wouldn't hurt.

Wrong Not-so-dormant bacteria in water lurking in crevices of the old pipes found Quintolubric much to their liking. They multiplied fruitfully, producing the yellow slime and effectively crippling the theater.

The situation has led to great disgruntlement all over Bavaria. Opera lovers are unhappy about the restricted repertory. Politicians and taxpayers are unhappy about the projected costs to fix the prob-lem: Josefowski estimates the price tag at \$24 million for the hydraulic system alone, with \$5 million more to carry out needed work that can only be undertaken while the theater is shut down. Everybody is unhappy that in order to repair this fiasco, the theater must be closed for 10

months, from Aug. 1 to June 1, 1993. Since 1986, the Bavarian government has authorized \$25 million for backstage repairs, which included an eight-month shutdown in 1988-89.

No wonder the politicians are restless. Last week, after a tour of the bydraulic system led by Josefowski, they refused to authorize funds for the repairs, postponing the decision until at least June 1. One parliament member called the theater a "Bermuda triangle."

Even before this latest setback, Wolfgang Sawallisch, the conductor who is to turn over the direction of the Bavarian State Opera to the English administrator Peter Jonas at the turn of the year, had protested that delays would jeopardize the prestigious Munich Opera Festival in 1993.

The ultimate costs will far exceed the \$24 million that must eventually be voted to eliminate the slime. Opera seasons are planned years in advance, and singers' contracts for 1992-1993 must be honored whether performances are given or not.

The orchestra, chorus and backstage technicians

must be paid as well. There are plans for concert performances in halls throughout the city, but the drop in box-office income will still be considerable. Josefowski says one-third of the company's \$66 million annual income comes from ticket sales. A complex legal investigation is under way to

determine responsibility. But any insurance money

that the company may receive is years away, Jose-

John Rockwell

LONDON THEATER

'Blue Angel,' Pre-Dietrich and Beyond Lola

By Sheridan Morley International Herald Tribune

ONDON - Trevor Nunn's Royal Sbakespeare Company production of "The Bine Angel" (at the Globe) has precious little to do with Marlene Dietrich or her classic 1930 movie of that title.

Instead, it goes back to the movie's original source. Heinrich Mann's 1905 novel "Professor Unrat," which focused not so much on the chilly nightelub singer as oo the more complex figure of the schoolmaster who ends up as a clown, though oot before he has become a gangster-leader of the Hamburg cabaret underground to revenge himself on those who have torn away his academic status as a re-prisal for his passionate love of naughty Lola, the wisest girl on

Borrowing a trick or two from Hal Prince's original staging of "Cabaret," Nunn gives us a whole world on a cabaret space: not just the upwardly mobile Lola, superbly and coldly played by Kelly Hunter, but also the vengeful mute Dieter (Peter-Hugo Daly) and the desperately cheerful master of ceremonies (Sidney Livingstone), shorn of any Broadway glamour and seen instead as a gal-lery of grotesques by Grosz and Brecht and Weill, all of whom are carefully and consciously echoed by a multilayered staging. But in the end, this is Philip Ma-

doc's evening. As the professor, he moves from academic arrogance through sexual submission to mas-ter criminality and eventual, terri-ble, circus submission in a masterly account of the decline and rise and fall of a man around whom Germany was fighting out its social and sexual obsessions in the years im-mediately before Hitler.

"The Blue Angel" is not only the best new musical in town; in Pam Gems's script and Maria Bjornson's settings, it is also a brilliant summary of all the themes of "Threepenny Opera" and "Caba-ret" and a reminder of the (principally) Friedrich Hollander songs to



Philip Madoc as the professor in Trevor Nunn's production of "The Blue Angel."

end of the career they had started. priests, there erupts Christine. A London is currently so starved of year ago, she was a popular local ew plays about contemporary isnew plays about contemporary issues that Roy Kendall's "Body & months of agonizing self-doubt, Sont" deserves very much better and several equally agonizing operthan the rather grudging welcome it has received and the miserly prom-

True, its premise may at first a female priest in a church that still seem a little far from your average refuses to admit them to full pow-Church of England experience, ers of sacrament, or can the church Into a hitherto quiet parish, within a religion still tearing itself apart

refuses to admit them to full powexpel her despite her original ordination as a man?

gins as an afternoon drama on BBC radio, as each character is introduced to symbolize one aspect of current ecclesiastical thinking in relation to the shock-horror of a sex change in the vestry.

bears fragmentary traces of its ori-

But the focus of the evening is Hardy, who in an all too rare return to the London stage brilliantly captures the hishop in all the agony of his well-meaning indecision. "Body & Soul" is that currently endangered species, the well-made moral drama, and it needs to be encouraged and supported because of the reminder it brings of when the West End crackled with such de-

It may well be that hordes of sex-changed vicars are unlikely to bring Westminster Abbey rumbling to its foundations, and it may also well be that their scarcity will prevent them from having much influence on the Church of England's eventual decision about the possibility of a woman in the pulpit.

But there is a wry, elegant wit about "Body & Soul" that keeps the debate just broad enough to include several allied arguments about the role and power of women in ooe of the last great bastions of male supremacy. God the Father and Son may be one thing: God the Mother and Daughter has yet to achieve her place in religious instruction, and we have a longer way to go there than the hopeful conclusion would have us believe.

The spirit of Joe Orton is alive and well at Hampstead, where Phil-ip Ridley's "The Fastest Clock in the Universe" is a weird, oddball series of power games played out in a derelict loft by two ill-assorted gays, a young Adonis and the girl-friend be brings to a nightmarish party. By the end, all illusions and several faces have been shattered.

director, Val May, has pulled to-gether the most distinguished char-

acter-acting cast in town. Robert

Hardy as the liberal bishop, Ange-

la Thorne as bis insecure feminist wife, Nicola Redmond as the sex-

changed cleric, and Moray Wat-

soo and Peter Cellier as the coo-

servative towers of Lambeth

Palace — all turn in performances

of coosiderable intelligence and

complexity, so that the argument is allowed to range along all its

possible avenues before a final

A play about the destructive power of love loses its way periodically, but is nearly always retrieved by a strong cast (Con O'Neill, Emma Amos, Jonathan Coy) in a production of joventive, Sam Shepardesque comic intensity by Mat-

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Iron Lady, Newly Gone Private, Has Magnetism for East's Apprentice Capitalists

Hardly is the shingle nailed up on the door than the Margaret Thatcher Foundation is inundated with pleas from wannabe capitalists in Eastern Europe.

Although the Iron Lady's reputation has grown rusty at home, it still has a magical ring in the newly emerging free-market economies of the former Soviet empire.

The foundation, recently established and running in Washington and London, aims to nelp small businesses get started in Eastern Europe. Later, it may extend its activities to the former Soviet Union, South Africa and perhaps further affeld.

But already the requests for help have out-stripped the capacities of the fledgling founda-tion, according to Julian Seymour, director of Mrs. Thatcher's private office.

The foundation will raise considerable sums

The foundation has no intention of taking equity stakes in the businesses it helps, Thatcher aides said.

Its aim is to help in training in the various aspects of running a business according to freemarket principles.

"We aim, above all, not to compete with know-how funds and big governmental support for Eastern Europe but to put money, very often in small amounts, at the sharp end, at the grass roots," Mr. Seymour said. "Mrs. Thatcher believes the foundation and

The foundation is helping several businesses already, but Mr. Seymour declined to identify

"We are not in the business of flying kites for the foundation," he said, "because the demands

of money, but the level of expectation has been absurdly exaggerated," he said.

on its resources are always going to be greater than those resources which exist." He said that estimates that the foundation

has hundreds of millions of dollars to bestow are in the realm of fantasy.
"The emphasis is on small," he said, estimating that the foundation will tap benefactors for

\$5 million to \$10 million by the end of this year.

The foundation has tentative plans to set up

an office in Eastern Europe, possibly in War-Mrs. Thatcher, as Mr. Seymour pointed out, does not like "large, bureaucratic infrastructures." Thus, with only six staff members, all of whom are engaged in fund-raising, the founda-tion remains tiny. "We don't aim to spend more than a bare minimum on administration," Mr.

Mrs. Thatcher's plans contrast with the somewhat greater ambitions of another prophet without a country, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the

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INTERNATIONAL SATELLITE APPRICAS

While Mrs. Thatcher prepares to join the ranks of Britain's political has-beens in the House of Lords, Mr. Gorbachev still appears to Italian restaurant and about 160 staff members. dream of returning to power in his country. In Japan last month, for example, he observed that ground for political and economic leaders. Al-President Charles de Gaulle was 68 when he though Mr. Gorbachev said the organization returned to power in France, and added, "I am only 61, so I still have all my chances,"

Political observers in the Soviet Union, however, say that Mr. Gorbachev has exhausted his credibility in Russia and stands virtually no Mr. chance of a comeback.

Within three weeks of being forced to resign is president of the disbanded Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev took over as head of the International Foundation for Social, Economic and Political Research in Moscow, which was founded by Alexander N. Yakovlev, his former chief economic aide.

The organization, which has been renamed the Gorbachev Foundation, is housed in the former school for international communist cad-

The foundation's aim is to become a training though Mr. Gorbachev said the organization would not be "an ivory tower" that is "occupied only with academic pursuits," he said there were no plans to endow it with a policy-making

Mr. Gorbachev, a private citizen with a pen-sion of 4,000 rubles (\$44) a month and a threeroom state apartment, has traveled to Japan, Germany and the United States in recent weeks, seeking backing for the foundation and \$75 million to create an American-style presidential library.

Despite Mrs. Thatcher's admiration for Mr. Gorbachev as "a man with whom we can do business," there are no plans at present for the Thatcher Foundation to cooperate with the Gorbachev Foundation.

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"That is not to say that we might not wish to cooperate with all sorts of things that he might wish to do in the future." Mr. Seymour said in London. "But his foundation is in its infancy. So far as I understand, it doesn't yet have a full legal structure, which we do both here and in America. We may well cooperate in the future. But the idea that the two things might be merged and operate as joint entities, absolutely

Mr. Seymour's final message to aspiring capitalists in Eastern Europe was, "Don't call us, we'll call you."

The foundation has received thousands of letters and proposals, and Mr. Seymour said the time and money spent replying to them all would be better invested somewhere it might do more good.

"We don't plan to advertise," he said. Mr. Gorbachev, on the other hand, it seems, is open to all offers.

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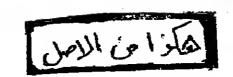
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TO THE PERSON OF THE PERSON OF

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Writing Ads to Reflect A Changing South Africa

By Judith D. Schwartz New York Times Service

OFIANNESBURG — It is 5 P.M. on Tuesday, March 17, the mrning point for South Africa when whites voted overwhelmingly to strike down apartheid. In its offices in Sandton, the glistening Johannesburg suburb that is South
Africa's equivalent of Madison Avenue, Herdbuoys is bustling.

Africa's equivalent of Macison Avenue, Herdbuoys is bustling. Happy Ntshingila, the client-service director, sits down at his desk and allows himself the luxury of a deep sigh. Surrounding him are rolled-up posters of past, present and planned campaigns, along with package samples of Sorghum beer, the flagship product of National Sorghum Breweries, a client that, with 300 million and (\$100 million) in annual sales, is the largest black-owned company in South Af-

nca.
There is no discussion of the referendum. But the princi-pals of Herdbuoys and other executives in the business know that marketing, and everything else for that matter, is about to undergo a sea

Herdbuoys sees itself as uniquely positioned to reach the black public.

change.

Since 1985, the combined spending power of nonwhites has exceeded that of whites. And with the vote, that trend is likely to

The white market is now a static market, while the black market The winte market is now a static market, while the black market is ever-growing," said Peter Vundia, managing director of Herdbroys. "But advertisers have only woken up to this recently. In the past, the attitude has been, if we pick up a few black consumers, fine. Now the black rand is strong, particularly in transport, consumption of energy and fast-moving consumer goods."

In fact, despite a recession, some agencies have seen their advertising budgets increase 30 percent to 40 percent, as local companies try to bolster their positions before foreign competi-

tion, newly freed from sanctions, pours in.

Aš South Africa's first all-black, full-service advertising agency, Herdbroys, whose billings have reached 12 million rand since it was formed in April 1991, is uniquely poised to capitalize on the economic shift.

QUALLY AT HOME in the boardroom and the shebeen QUALLY AT HOME in the position and the language of the character and township slang, the principals seek to marketing and township slang, the principals seek to provide a link between predominantly white South African companies and the blacks who buy their products.

As its name suggests, the agency intends to serve as a "buoy," a beacon leading businesses into new territory, that of the real South Africa, a South Africa that is more black than white, Yet it is in a ticklish position: on one hand, Herdbuoys's principals regard themselves as better equipped than white agencies to reach the black public; yet as professionals with high-level experience at South Africa's leading shops, including Ogilvy &

Mather, J. Walter Thompson and Lintas Transvaal, they want to be seen as advertisers first and blacks second. Through irony they have been able to transcend racial stereotypes, creating a strong identity rather than becoming simply "the black agency." And the shop's irreverent pose — Herdbuoys's ads describe it as "a young, full-service and integrated agency led and staffed by blacks ... and some token whites" — allows the company to play with the otherwise volatile subject of race.

Although traditionally a white industry, advertising has done more than play a passive role in change in South Africa. Since the mid-1980s, advertisers have been presenting the "new," postapartheid South Africa before it had even arrived.

Ads for South African Breweries, for example, showed blacks and whites driftling together while such activity was technically illegal. The reason? South African Breweries gets 85 percent of its

Yet there is still a ways to go, Mr. Vundla contends, "Advertising here has been Eurocentric," he said. "The concepts are created by white people who have no understanding of their main See HERDRIIOVS, Page 14

CURRENCY RATES

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1,6099 1,6255 1,4989 PORTUGAL - CASUS ESLA VISTA PALAS e Hotleanie de Parts (Ports); Bank of Tokyo (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Con (SDR); Gaetonk (ruble), Other data from Reulers and AP.

INTEREST RATES

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Franc Sterling Francis
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Hony Kony Luxembeury Purts (12.5 kilo) Zurich Landon New York -- 1.02 -- 0.90 + 0.71 -- 0.85 + 0.15 + 0.40 Laxembourg, Parts and Landon official fix-ings; Hong Kong and Zurich coening and chelen arkers: New York and partiet close

Franc Tugs on German Leash **But Mark Still Anchors European Currencies**

By Tom Redburn onal Herald Tribane

PARIS - Learning from an earlier mistake, the French found a slick new way this month to relax Germany's tight rein on their interest rates. But in doing so, the government may have left the false impression that France enjoys more economic inde-pendence than it really does.

Last October, the all-thumbs French government under Edith Cresson abruptly tried to break free of

Germany's monetary handcuffs by cutting interest rates on its own. The episode ended in fiasco only four weeks later, when the central bank was forced to reverse gears and boost lending rates to salvage the franc. It was no surprise, then, to see Paris follow Frankfurt's lead when the Bundesbank boosted rates just before Christmas to stanch German inflation. So this month, when the newly installed government

of Prime Minister Pierre Bérégovoy wanted to lower interest rates again in an effort to revive the sluggish French economy, officials were far more clever.

With Bonn briefly besieged by public-employee strikes that raised doubts about Germany's economic stability, the French government set the stage for a modest monetary easing with a carefully orchestrated public relations campaign suggesting that the French franc deserved to be treated as the strongest currency

in Europe. The rate reduction appears to be succeed-Some French analysts, however, appear to be overre-acting to the successful maneuver, falling into the trap of believing their government's propaganda. Encouraged by a front-page article in Le Monde, they held that France should try to take the lead role in the European

Monetary System, going so far as to boost the value of its own currency against the Deutsche mark. "Even a modest 3 percent to 5 percent revaluation

of the franc against the mark would cause a reversal of expectations and allow a lowering of interest rates in France," Patrick Careil, president of Banque Hervet, told Le Monde.

"It may sound good here, but I'm afraid it is another example of the French cog's instinct for crowing," said J. Paul Horne, Paris-based chief international economist for Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Co. "French credibility has dramatically improved in recent years, but there is still no comparison between the role of the French and German economies in Europe."

For all the provocative talk of throwing around rance's newly found economic clout, officials in Paris understand that European monetary power remains firmly in the hands of the Bundesbank, Finance Minister Michel Sapin, at last week's meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, appealed for Germany to ease its grip and take the steps necessary to allow European interest rates to decline.

"Germany is still the monetary anchor of Europe," said Richard O'Brien, chief economist at American Express Bank in London. The country "may be having its economic difficulties at the moment, but there is no doubt about the Bundesbank's determination to lead the fight against inflation."
But if Germany remains entrenched as Europe's

monetary anchor, at least now there is a little slack in

France's backdoor rate cut, in which the central bank paved the way for corporate borrowing costs to slip by lowering its reserve requirements for banks. came in the wake of an earlier rate cut in Britain. After the Conservative Party's re-election victory in April restored investor confidence in the pound, the Bank of

See FRANC, Page 13

Oil Shock **Batters Securities**

By Youssef M. Ibrahim New York Times Service

The perception of a shift by Saudi Arabia to a policy favoring higher oil prices sent finan-cial markets spinning on Tuesday, driving energy-company stocks and petroleum prices higher and pulling the rug out from under the rest of the U.S. stock market and from bonds.

Crude oil prices surged, with the July contract on the New York Mercantile Exchange up \$1.04, to \$21.98 a barrel. The jump was set off by the accord last week among members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to freeze production limits at current levels, except for Kuwait.

Signaling displeasure with the European Community's plan to impose a gradual tax on oil that will start at \$3 a barrel this year and move up to \$10 by the end of the decade, the Saudis and other ma-

See OIL, Page 10

Plan to Balance The U.S. Budget Comes at a Price

By Eric Pianin Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON - The politically charged proposal for a balanced-budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution would require a combination of government spend-ing cuts and tax increases far exceeding anything ever attempted in U.S. history, the House Budget

Committee said Tuesday. Even if Congress and the White House agreed to scrap the space station, the superconducting super-collider and the Seawolf submarines projects; shut down veterans bospitals, and slash or eliminate funding for small-business loans, rural housing, mass transit, airports, commu-nity development, the arts and maternal health care, they still would be less than halfway to the savings needed in the first year alone, ac-

cording to committee estimates.

To achieve a balanced budget within five years — the goal of the chief proponents — the government would have to reduce spending be-low current levels by \$38 billion the

almost any message they found on

One of the first heavily adver-

tised Western products, Vidal Sassoon's Wash 'n' Go shampoo,

made by Procter & Gamble Co.,

rocketed to the top of the market

in a few weeks. Then its sales

plummeted amid a bizarre whis-

pering campaign before it began

to recover.

television or in the newspapers.

first year, \$70 billion the second, \$113 billion the third, \$173 billion the fourth and \$237 billion the fiftl year, the committee said in a study. The impact of the cutbacks on government projects, state govern-ments and social-service recipients would be staggering, according to some budget specialists, and the challenge to Congress to devise a

politically acceptable package of

spending cuts and tax increases would be daunting. This year, for instance, members of the House and Senate Appropri-ations committees say they are struggling to find \$17 billion in savings in domestic, military and foreign aid programs to comply with the spending caps dictated by the 1990 budget agreement.

If the Constitution were amended to require a balanced budget, Congress would be obliged to come up with more than twice that amount this year, while it is considering new spending on urban areas in the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots.

"We've never seen proposed reductions like this," said Robert D. Reischauer, director of the Congressional Budget Office. "It's anybody's guess of bow the politics would play out."

Representative Leon E. Panetta. Democrat of California and chair-man of the House Budget Committee, is a critic of the proposed balanced-budget amendment and has been trying to shift the focus of the debate to the difficult decisions that await the administration and Congress if the amendment is adopted. Representative Charles Stenbolm, Democrat of Texas, the chief proponent of the balanced-budget amendment, said last week that the American public was "fed up with

having 60 percent of its personal

income taxes going to making interest payments, rather than providing valuable services." Mr. Panetta says that while he understands the frustration that has fueled the balanced-budget drive. Congress and the president already have the power to balance the budget. The larger question, he says, is whether the two branches of

government have the political fortiude to make the necessary cuts. He has advocated linking the vote on the amendment to adoption of an enforcement mechanism "I do not believe members of Congress should be permitted to cast the easy, politically popular

See DEFICIT, Page 10

Poland Goes Ad-Crazy, Sometimes Beyond Belief

By Stephen Engelberg

New York Times Service

WARSAW — The fight is on for the hearts and minds of Po-

land's consumers. Television viewers in Poland

are bombarded nightly with advertisements for Western laundry detergent, yogurt and candy bars.

foreign investment.

By Mary Battiata

Weshington Post Service

WARSAW — Poland's parliament recent-ly sent an odd — some say self-defeating — signal from a country desperately seeking

The lower house of the National Assembly

approved by a wide margin legislation that

would force two long-time Western investors in Poland's casino business to withdraw and

transfer their shares to Polish partners within

The bill must be approved by the Senate

and signed by the president to become law, but its swift passage by the lower house has

alarmed investors and diplomats, and drawn

strong criticism from Poland's outgoing fi-

Previously taboo items - like en traditionally do not shave their most popular cab company in women's sanitary napkins — are being openly advertised for the Entire new markets have been

carved out virtually overnight for products Poles never knew they needed. like pet food.

legs, one entrepreneur single-han-dedly created a demand for electronic hair removers, starting with tram in the center of the city. an advertising campaign featur-ing Miss Poland. He is now selling about 30,000 a month.

Camel cigarettes' name is now

many goods for a generation and In a country where most wom- emblazoned on all the taxis of the learned to dismiss as propaganda

Warsaw, Radio Taxi; Marlboro's

colors and name adorn the No. 4

companies courting Polish con-

sumers, who were deprived of

But there are land mines for

It's a Roll of the Dice, Some Foreign Investors Find investment from a business community that has been slow to invest here. The bill provoked a letter of protest from Austria's ambassador to Poland, and objections from the Austrian and Swedish companies that have operated bere since the late

> own 12 of Poland's 16 casinos. The legislation was rusbed through committee and to a vote by the lower bouse, or Seim, by sponsors from the Christian National Union party. The union is now the strongest party in the minority coalinon government of Prime Minister Jan Olszewski.

Matsushita's DCC system, which was devel-

DCC also appears to have greater support

among hardware makers. For one, it groups

Matsushita and Philips, the two biggest con-

sumer-electronics companies in Asia and Eu-

rope. In addition, there is a fear in the industry

of giving too much power to Sony, which many

resent because of a perception that it exploits

its dominant position as the leading supplier of

CD players, components and other products.

make compact disks obsolete, also said it had

developed a new premastering system to im-

prove the quality of recordings made on the

existing CD format. Mr. Ohga said Sony need-

ed to upgrade the quality of the CD format to

ensure its survival as the dominant medium for

home use, although he conceded that the Mini-

Polygram NV said Tuesday that it would sell

its digital compact cassettes at the same retail

price as its compact disks, Bloomberg Business

The company said the new cassettes would be in stores in September. CD prices in the U.S. generally range from \$11.99 to \$15.99.

its record labels, such as A&M and Motown Records, would release DCC recordings.

Polygram said that consumers wanted digital sound, noting that while CD sales had risen to more than 1 billion units in 1991, sales of analogue cassettes declined about 23.9 percent.

Polygram said that more than 30 artists from

Disc would usurp some of the market.

■ Polygram Sets DCC Price

News reported from New York.

Sony, afraid that the MiniDisc could soon

oped by Philips, will sell for 135,000 ven.

1980s in joint ventures with Poland's Orbis

Hotel chain and the Polish national airline,

LOT. The Austrian and Swedish companies

have minority shares in two companies that

From cocktail parties to store checkout lines, the word went out on the same grapevine that was used to circumvent state-controlled media. "Psst, pass it on, Wash 'n' Go being sold in Poland has been adulterated," people told each other, "It makes your

hair fall out." Willy Delvaux, Procter & Gamble's general manager in Poland, said ruefully: "It's something completely absurd. All dermatologists, everybody has stated that shampoo, any shampoo, has no effect on hair loss. We've never been able to find a single person who had hair loss; it's always they

See ADS, Page 14

Sony Fires Shot in New Technology War

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Debentures (the "Redemption Price").

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Morgan Guaranty Trust Company Avenue des Arta 35 B-1040 Brussels, Belgium

APACHE INTERNATIONAL FINANCE N.V. Apache Corporation

While many say they believe Sony's MiniDisc is part of an inevitable progression from tapes to disks and eventually to semiconductor-based prerecorded titles will be out by year-end; By Steven Brull International Herald Tribune TOKYO - Kicking off the next great clash prices bave not yet been announced

nance minister, who said the bill "could have

a devastating effect on the flow of foreign investment into Poland."

criminatory way the present low credibility of

our country will sink even lower," Finance

Minister Andrzej Olechowski warned. "I con-

cede that we need a law to regulate the casino

business, but it is not possible to expropriate existing business on the basis of its country of

Mr. Olechowski said the bill would also violate all international agreements signed by

The controversy comes six weeks after

President Lech Walesa's trip to Germany,

where he tried in vain to win large-scale

Poland to protect foreign capital.

"If foreign investors are treated in a dis-

in consumer audio, Sony Corp. said Tuesday it would begin Japanese sales of its recordable MiniDisc audio system in November for 80,000 (\$620), a price far below that of the rival digital system touted by Philips Electronics NV and Matsushita Electric Industrial Co.

Sony also said it would work to improve the sound quality of compact disks to prevent the 10-year-old format from being cannibalized by the MiniDisc, which is much smaller and offers nearly the same audio quality, features and

playing time. Ever since the compact disk was introduced by Sony and Philips 10 years ago, a recordable disk has been the industry's Holy Grail. It will let consumers make their own pristine, hiss-free digital recordings in an optical format that enables random access as well as the encoding of data such as titles, timings and, eventually, song lyrics.
Norio Ohga, the Sony president, said some

40 hardware and software companies had signed on as licensees for the MiniDisc and that about 500 prerecorded titles, priced at or slightly above compact disks, would be available when the palm-sized machines go on sale on Nov. 1 in Japan. The hardware lineup, which also includes a playback-only unit for 60,000 yen, will go on sale in overseas markets sometime before Christmas.

If all technologies were created equal, there would be little doubt that the MiniDisc would be a crackling success. Yet in consumer electronics, the best technology does not always win. The industry has already suffered a series of duds in digital audiotape players, quadrophonic sound and, in Japan, high-definition television—so analysts are wary of picking a winner in the next battle for the listener's ear and wallet.

Brazil's Embraer

The Associated Press

troubled Empresa Brasileira de

Aeronantica, Latin America's larg-

est aviation company, said Tuesday that it would fire 30 percent of its

receiving their pink slips today,"

said Mario Vinagre, an Embraer spokesman. He said the dismissals

would save the company at least

Mr. Vinagre attributed the company's problems to a decline in international sales and to difficul-

ties in obtaining financing for new

Embraer reported a loss of \$235 million last year, on net sales of

\$432 million, a 30 percent drop from the previous year. The company's debt totals \$800 million.

"About 2,500 workers will start

SAO PAULO - The financially

Of Work Force

work force.

\$40 million.

media, others say the inertia of the analog cassette market will give the initial momentum to Philips's digital compact cassette, or DCC.

Unlike the MiniDisc, which is incompatible with current equipment and requires an investment in new hardware and software, DCC allows music lovers to play their old analog cassettes while simultaneously upgrading to digital quality the audio on recordings made in the new format, which uses different tapes.

DCC's "backward compatibility," its ability to tap into the existing pool of billions of recorded cassettes, is its biggest advantage.

"Audio equipment sales statistics show that the audio cassette is still very much a part of our lives, and that an 'evolutionary rather than revolutionary' recordable digital system is required," said H. Th. Hoksbergen, president of Philips Japan Ltd.

The Dutch company estimates that 180 million cassette decks are sold every year, along with 2.6 billion cassettes, 1 billion of which are prerecorded, Consumers, which in most of the world except Japan and the United States are just discovering compact disks, are annoyed by the profusion of andio formats, Philips said. and will chafe at the idea of investing in yet another standard.

They will be inclined to replace their old cassette players with DCC rather than clutter their homes with more equipment and software, Philips said. There is a similar reluctance among retailers to stock an additional format, the company said, adding that this was one reason that DCC appears to have gained greater support in the music industry.

DCC will go on sale in mid-September, two months ahead of the MiniDisc, but equipment will be more expensive. Philips's deck will sell

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together with payment of NIS 2,500 (New Israeli Shekels) or US \$1,000, which is unrecoverable, to cover the cost of the PO process. Last date for submitting the PO documents: Thursday, June 25 '92, 17:00 hrs.

Kalman Dines, Director General

EUROPEAN PUTURES

High Low Prey, Cles

MARKET DIARY

Dollar Fails to Advance Despite Positive Data

OIL: Price Rise Hits Bonds, Stocks

Primarily, the Saudis and other major Gulf producers feel, as an official who asked not to be identition index, which fell 15.69 points.

Community thinks there is a lot more money to be made out of oil, York Stock Exchange outnum-why shouldn't we, the producers, bered advances by a 2-to-1 ratio.

NEW YORK - The dollar ended mostly lower on Tuesday, failing to draw much support from a stream of news that ought to have

The dollar fell to 1.6128 Deutsche marks, from 1.6155 on Friday. The market was closed Monday for

Foreign Exchange

Memorial Day. The dollar also fell to 1.4825 Swiss francs, from 1.4860, and to 5.4220 French francs, from

The pound rose to \$1.8250, from \$1.8155, but the dollar edged up to 129.50 yen, from 129.25. Reports of rising consumer con-

fidence and automobile sales plus a surge in oil prices that seemed in bury chances of a Federal Reserve Board short-term interest-rate cut failed to bolster the U.S. currency. "With all the good news you'd think the dollar would show a big-

(Continued from first finance page)

jor OPEC producers appear to be

willing to let oil prices move up, Gulf officials indicated.

largest producer, this represents a fundamental shift from its previous

insistence on moderate prices, but

N.Y. Stocks Gulf Arab officials said the move

may be mostly tactical, aiming at

expressing in real terms the depth

of dissatisfaction with the energy

fied put it, that "if the European

Secondly, the official said, Saudi

Arabia's long fight to secure a ma-jor part of the world and OPEC's oil markets has been successful.

Having over the past three years

moved up to nearly 35 percent of

OPEC exports from about 25 per-

cent, the Saudis are now willing to

look into making more money on

For Saudi Arabia, the world's

ger gain," said Paul Farrell, vice president of Chase Manhattan.

Earlier in London, the dollar also slipped from its Friday levels, but it recovered from its deepest losses on investor interest. The dollar fell to 1.6118 DM, from 1.6180 on Friday and to 129.355 yen, from 129.400.

Investors, not dealers, beiped the dollar's partial recovery. After it fell to about 1.6050 DM, buyers stepped in. "There is a lot of appetite in the 1.60 area from investors with a longer-term view who con-sider the dollar as undervalued on every normal comparative criteria," said a currency manager at a U.S. bank, citing purchasing-power

parity as one criterion. Analysts said the dollar remained pressured by the 6 percentage point short-term interest-rate premium the mark holds over it. Bundesbank officials indicated a German rate cut was not to be expected in the near future. (Reuters, UPI, Bloomberg)

American consumers, which could

The beliwether Treasury 30-year

issue lost 1¼ points, raising its yield to 7.92 percent, from 7.83 percent on Friday. The U.S. financial mar-

kets were elosed on Monday for

in the stock market, the effect on the Dow Jones industrial average was muted because three of its 30

components are oil company stocks.

The blue-chip gauge was down 22.56 points, to 3,364.21, with the oil

shares keeping the decline subdued at 0.67 percent of the index's value.

Halliburton paced the Big Board actives, rising 1/2 to 30. Exxon followed, elimbing 31/2 to 64. Occiden-

tal Petroleum was third, up 11/4 to 23, Goodyear Tire, down 3, to 68%, and Philip Morris, off 1% to 74%, accounted for almost half of the

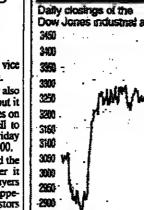
(UPI, Bloomberg, Reuters, AP) Decision Unchanged Total Issues

or 1.14 percent, to 1,360.80.

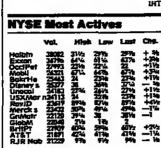
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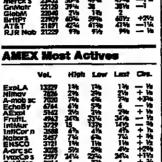
also be inflationary.

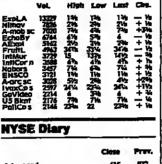
Memorial Day.

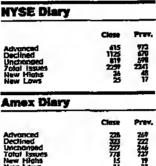


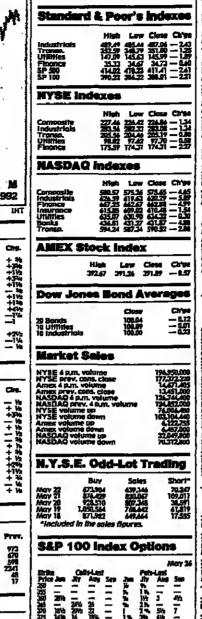
The Dow







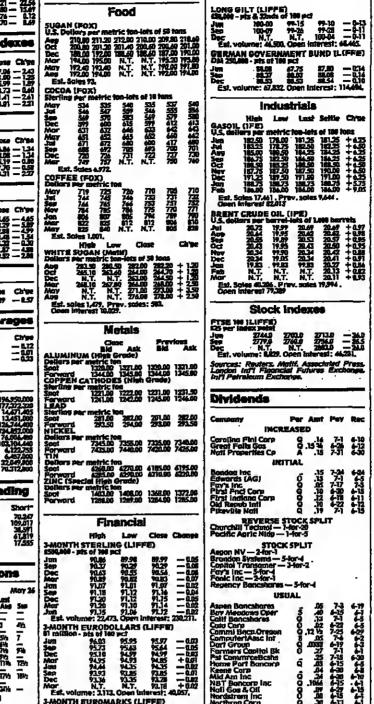




Dow Jones Averages

indus 3387.42 3418.57 133831 1344.21 — 22.56 Trons 1374.13 1377.62 1367.76 1363.80 — 15.67 Unii 212.57 214.51 811.62 2127.5 — 8.12 Comp 1195.79 1282.26 1774.62 1357.70 — 8.49

Hists Law Lost Che



Revion Will Try to Go Public Again NEW YORK (Combined Dispatches) - Revion Inc. filed Tuesday for: government approval to sell 20 million shares of common stock, ending nearly a year of speculation over whether the company would become

nearry a year or speculation over whether the company would become publicly owned again.

In a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Revion sought permission to sell an initial public offering of 20 million shares in its newly formed subsidiary, New Revion Inc., to raise as much as \$500. million. Reviou said proceeds would be used to pay down debt.

Under terms outlined in the SEC filing, Reviou will regroup its cosmetics and skin-care, fragrance and personal-care products under the

New Revion name. A few unspecified assets and liabilities will remain under the heading Revion Inc.

Revion was taken private in 1985 in a \$2.5 billion leveraged buyout engineered by Ronald O. Perelman.

Court Bars Tax on Mail-Order Sales

WASHINGTON (Combined Dispatches) - The U.S. Supreme Court WASHINGTON (Combined Dispatches) — The U.S. Supreme Court-said Thesday that states could not force out-of-state mail-order companies to charge sales tax on purchases generated within their borders. But the court left the door open for Congress to change the law.

The justices, by an 8-to-1 vote, overturned a North Dakota Suprementary of the law of the law of the state's mail-order tax, saying the mean unconstitutionally interfered with interstate commerce.

But Justice John Paul Stevens wrote in the majority opinion of the state interest and force to change the law and let state improve calles and

ongress was free to change the law and let states impose sales and taxes on mail-order retailers. (Reuters, Bloomb

Consumer Confidence Rises Strong

NEW YORK (IHT) — Confidence among consumers in the future of the U.S. economy is growing at 8 rate that "leaves little doubt that the economy is at long last recovering," the Conference Board said Tuesday. The board said its index of consumer confidence rose to 71.6 in May, up 6.6 points from April and the third successive strong monthly gain. The index has gained 24 points since February, mainly in the component showing increasing optimism for the future, which rose 32 points.

Consumers' assessment of present conditions nevertheless remains low with 39.5 percent of present conditions nevertheless remains low, with 39.5 percent of respondents indicating that business was bad and 40 percent that jobs were hard to get.

U.S. Home Sales Rose 6% in April

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Sales of existing U.S. homes rose 6 WASHINGTON (Renters) — Sales of existing U.S. homes rose of percent in April from a year earlier, as buyers took advantage of low interest rates, relatively stable prices and a plentiful supply of houses, the National Association of Realitors said Tuesday.

The across-the-board rise in the home resale market is "a sure sign that housing is doing its job to fuel growth in the rest of the economy," said Dorcas Helfant, president of the realtors group.

April marked the eighth consecutive month of annual increases in

home resale activity, according to the report. The number of home resales rose to 317,000 units, from 299,000 units in April 1991.

Vehicle Sales Rise 7%, Trucks Surge

DETROIT (UPI) — Powered by a 14.4 percent surge in light truck sales, U.S. car and truck manufacturers on Tuesday reported a 7 percent ncrease in vehicle sales for mid-May.

The trend also pushed year-to-date sales by the 10 domestie car and truck makers up 6.1 percent, largely because of a 14.2 percent increase in

For May 11-20, combined domestic car and light truck sales totaled 333,116, or 37,013 per day, up from 276,716, or 34,590 on a daily basis in 1991. The 1992 period had nine selling days, compared with eight in 1991.

For the Record

Close Chu

General Motors Corp. said Tuesday that it would sell its Chevrolet cars and trucks through a distributor in Estonia, its first marketing of North American-built vehicles in the Baltic states.

(AP)

this share while keeping it static. ■ Wail Street Battered

make some of it?"

On Wall Street, oil company shares got a boost from the crude price surge, which increased the vote in favor of a balanced budget value of their petroleum reserves and then leave it to some unfortu-

NatWest Securities. "Everything

DEFICIT: Plan to Balance Budget Comes With Price (Continued from first finance page) alone in stressing the magnitude of that the U.S. economy has tolerat-

NASDAQ Diary

and energy products, news agencies reported from New York.

"Oil stocks are doing great," said

John Blair, head trader at County

The House and Senate are expected to vote on the proposed bal- al aid declined sharply, and that

That included U.S. government month, with many predicting pas-bonds, which slumped on concerns about higher oil prices and a report three-fourths of the states.

cuts involved. A recent study by Wharton Econometries Forecasting Associates concluded that state and local governments' operating deficits would soar under a balanced budget award a ward would soar under a balanced with the Urban Institute, or The House and Senate are ex- anced-budget amendment as feder-

Dec 97

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U.S. FUTURES

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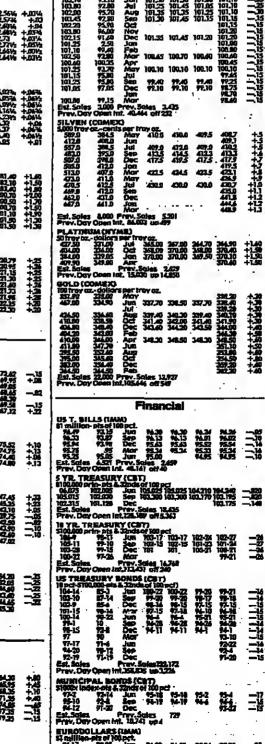
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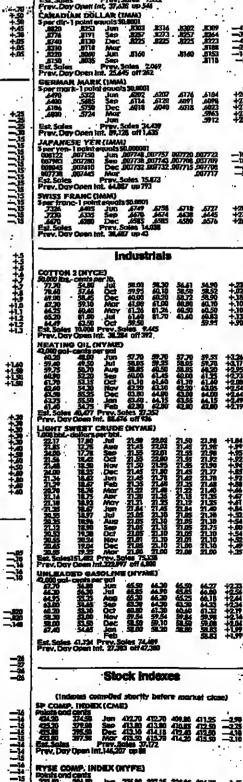
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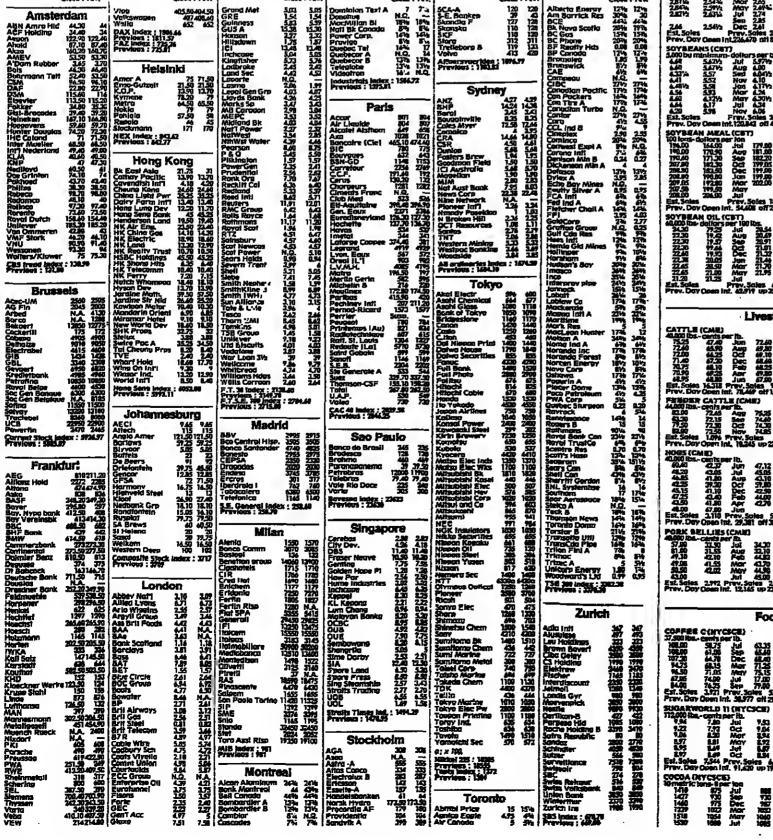
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Eurotunnel Bankruptcy Broached by Bouygues

PARIS - Martin Bouygues, chief executive of the Bouygues SA construction company, suggested Tuesday that the bankruptcy of Eurotunnel might be needed to unblock a dispute with the consortium building the Channel tunnel.

Bouygues is one of the 10 construction companies in the Trans Manche bink consortium, which is building the tunnel for Eurotunnel, the British-French company that will own it. Eurotunnel was ordered in March to triple its monthly payments to the builders, to £75 million (\$136.2 million), because of a dispute involving cost overruns incurred in part to meet revised safety regulations. Eurotunnel has appealed the roling.

Mr. Bouygues said the talks were "almost dead," and a bankruptcy of

Eurotuanel should be considered. As to the possibility of paying TML demands on Eurotunnel in the form of shares. Mr. Bouygues said "Why not? We are very conciliatory."

On the Paris Bourse, Eurotunnel SA fell to 37.85 francs (\$6.98) a share. down 50 centimes. Traders said the remarks by Mr. Bouygues undoubt-

edly hurt the stock. Eurotunnel refused to comment on the statements. Stock in Bouygues, meanwhile, slid 11 francs a share, to 632 francs, in Paris. The stock was hart by Monday's announcement that the company would issue 1.7 million shares at 610 francs each. But although the funds are meant to help Bouygues develop and diversify, an executive said the company would not buy all of Elbo Bau AG, as has been rumored.

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to
the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect
late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP, AFX)

Italian Cabinet **Extends Curbs** On Spending

ROME — Italy's caretaker cabinet, stung by criticism from the European Community, on Tuesday extended re-strictions on public spending in a series of stopgap measures to freeze a soaring state deficit.

The government ordered local authorities to hold down new investment and current spending, excluding salaries and pensions, for three more months beyond the end of June, said Nino Cristofori, the cabinet secretary.

The measures were announced as the Treasury released first-quarter figures showing that Italy's public-sector deficit was growing 23 percent faster than in 1991.

Waigel Rejects Setting Up a Fund To Help Nations Meet EC Standards

By Richard E. Smith International Herald Tribune

FRANKFURT - Finance Minister Theo Waigel of Germany strongi, rejected Tuesday suggesthat any fund be set up to help laggard countries meet the strict criteria of the European Community's planned economic

and monetary union. Germany, long the major pay-master of the EC, is now severely strained by the costs of reunification and has become more vocal in its attacks on expensive projects designed to promote EC unity.

Speaking at a business conference. Mr. Waigel said that "it would even be counterproductive" to give aid to promote economic convergence of the richer and poorer EC members.

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"undiluted pressure" to put through difficult reforms.

"Convergence cannot be subsidized, hut must rather be brought about over the middle term through decisive economic success-

There have recently been calls for "convergence" fund to help poorer EC member countries such as Portugal. Spain. Greece and Ireland meet the ambitious economic goals set out in December at the EC summit in Maastricht, the Netherlands.

Those goals, notably limits on inflation and budget deficits, must be met before a country can enter the single-currency monetary union to be set up in 1999 at the latest.

Mr. Waigel noted that a "cohe-sion" fund had been agreed in Maastricht to help countries with environmental and infrastructure projects. But he said this fund was oriented toward specific projects

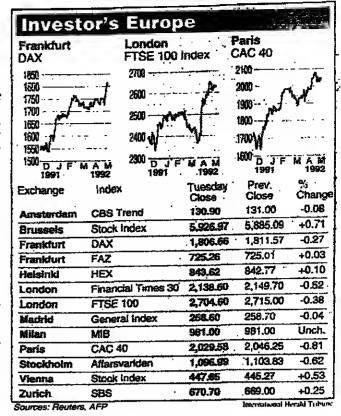
He said that the states needed and was not designed to promote broader economic convergence.

He also used the occasion to criticize the EC states that have so far not set out specific programs to promote convergence. Only Germany, Italy. Portugal, Ireland and Greece have drawn up such programs for discussion.

Regarding Germany's own budget problems. Mr. Waigel said the hudget for 1993, which be will propose in July, would not be more than 2.5 percent higher than the budget of the previous year.

■ A 'Franken' for Europe? Mr. Waigel raised the possibility of calling the European currency the "Franken." Reuters reported from Frankfurt.

Germany and France could live well with this term," Mr. Waigel said at the husiness conference. The minister used the word "Franken." hut he did not make clear whether he would accept the word



FRANC: Strong, Not Strongest

(Continued from first finance page) England was able to push down interest rates on May 5, Ireland followed suit. All this came despite continued insistence by the Bundesbank that it would not ease

rates until German inflation was clearly under control. Jean-Claude Tricbet, France's top Treasury official, recently pointed to the British and French examples as evidence that there was more flexibility than generally believed to adjust interest rates within the constraints of the EMS.

"The virtues of France are growing," said David Roche, international market strategist at Morgan Stanley & Co. in London. "No longer does every move in German interest rates have to be reolicated in French interest rates. But the

The extra wiggle room, bowever limited, has already produced one significant side-effect. It has quieted, at least for now, talk of a major currency realignment in Europe.

"There bas been much discussion about realignment, but the reality seems to be that most governments are already essentially committed to a fixed rate system." said Peter Pietsch, chief economist ai Commerzbank in Frankfurt.

If there is a realignment before the European Community enters stage two of its economic and monetary union in 1994, many analysts now contend that the most likely

Italian lira and the Portuguese escudo. The established levels of the mark, the French franc, and the British pound are unlikely to change, even when the pound moves to a narrow, 2.5 percent fluctuation band within the EMS, from the 6 percent by which it is now allowed to vary against the central rate.

Paris, despite its embrace of orthodox economic policies a decade ago, is still in no position to move ahead of Germany on its own. Although inflation in France is significantly below Germany's, the French still pay slightly higher interest rates.

"We all over-reacted with a smug sense of satisfaction to seeing the Germans in trouble, the French most of all," a British economic official said. "But markets still have more confidence in the proper management of the German economy than in the French. That's the situation, whether Paris likes it or not."

■ Economy Perks Up

The French economy grew faster than expected in the first three months of this year, Reuters re-

ported, citing government figures. The National Statistics Office said gross domestic product grew 1.1 percent in the first quarter after showing flat growth in the previous quarter. Finance Minister Michel Sapin said the figures indicated growth would exceed government

forecasts for the whole of 1992.

Very briefly:

Deutsche Aerospace AG. a unit of Daimler-Benz AG, said it hoped to complete the acquisition of 51 percent of the Dutch aircraft maker Fokker NV by mid-June.

 L. M. Eriesson said it had won an order to extend a mobile-telephone network in Guangdong, China, worth 250 million kroner (\$39.5 million). • Bouygues SA, the French builder, expects a rise in 1992 net attributable profit from the 635 million francs (\$117 million) it posted in 1991,

Chairman Martin Bouygues said. Klöckzer-Humboldt-Deutz AG, a German engineering and agro-ma-chinery maker, announced a 1991 group operating profit of 51.9 million Deutsche marks (\$32.2 million), down from 80.8 million DM the previous

Matra MHS, a joint subsidiary of Matra and the Daimler-Benz unit AEG, appointed Miehel Desbard chairman and managing director.

replacing Guy Dumas, who becomes honorary president. • The Belgian Futures and Options Exchange is to launch trading in its first two options on Petrofina SA and Delhaize Frères et Co. Le Lion SA

shares on June 12, said Belfox's general manager, Jos Schmitt. • Thyssen AG, the German steelmaker, said net profit fell 10.5 percent, to 203 million DM, in the six months to the end of March, from 227 million

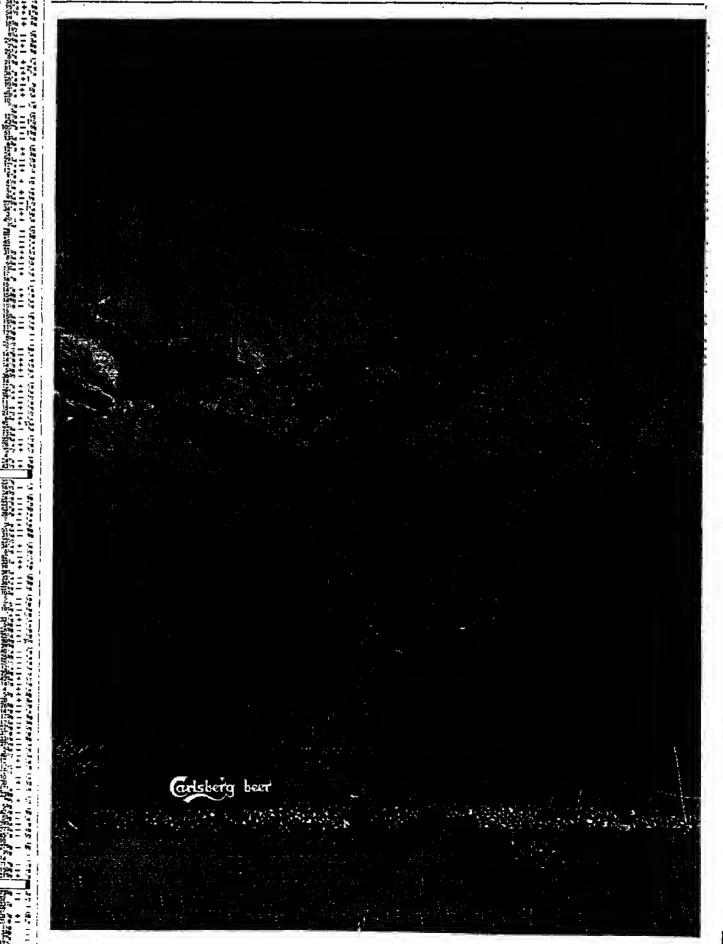
DM in the like period a year earlier. • Electrolux AB, the Swedish appliances maker, posted operating profit of 618 million kronor (\$105.8 million) for the first quarter, down 180

million kronor from the like period a year earlier, on sales that grew 2 percent, to 19.46 hillion kronor. Reuters, AFP, AFX

Ultramar Sale Estimate Is Boosted

LONDON -- Lasmo PLC on Tuesday raised by \$30 million its estimate of expected income from the spin-off of North American refining and marketing operations it acquired in the takeover of Ultramar PLC last year.

The oil company raised its estimate for the equity part of the offering to between 5590 million and \$680 million. Projected proceeds of a debi-portion of the offering remain at \$400 million, and Ultramar is to repay \$80 million of debt to Lasmo, making the estimated income \$1.07 billion



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U.S. Commerce Chief Says Trade Pie Must Grow

Barbara H. Franklin, a former management consultant who has been a director of several major American corporations, was recently named to be the U.S. secretary of commerce. She spoke about trade issues with Tom Redburn of the International Herald Tribune last week in Paris during the meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Q. Despite the serious economic problems facing industrial nations, OECD

right now. So any multilateral organization takes time to rethink itself and to deal with the changes. But I do think some important things happened here. There was a pretty strong statement on growth, and that has been one of our points for a long time. We're now in an era where it is economic competition that is the hottom line rather than military competition. So in order for us all to flourish economically, we have to keep the size of the pie growing.

Q. But when you look at one of the issues

economic officials have identified as key to sustaining growth, a global trade agree-ment, nothing has happened yet. Why? A. What I said, and what everybody around the table said, is that we really

policymakers seem to be spinning their wheels these days. Why theinertia? A. The world is a lot more complicated

have to get a GATT agreement done. The question is, how do you do it? Frankly, I was surprised by what my colleague from the European Community [Frans Andriessen, the EC external affairs and trade commissioner] was quoted as having said. He laid the entire blame for a lack of resolution on the United States. This is just not true. Everybody knows the stumhing block has been agricultural subsi-

'We're better at some things, innovation and entrepreneurship, than anybody else. Barbara H. Franklin, U.S. commerce secretary.

dies, and that is primarily on the part of the European Community, not the United States. I was quite disappointed. We want an agreement, and the sooner the better. Q. The United States has had a signifi-cant turnaround in trade in the last few years, with a remarkable increase in exports. Why do you think that is?

A. There is increasing recognition on the

part of business that we are in a worldwide

economy, I've sat in boardrooms over the

last decade or so and watched American

companies restructure, pare down, cut down excessive layers of management and hierarchy, and that was a direct response to global competition. We're now starting to see the results of that restructuring in energized competition. But we still have a lot of room for improvement,

Q. What is role of the Commerce Department in this transformation? A. Our role is to do everything we can

from the government side to make that happen. Business has got to do it, of course. We don't operate the way some other governments do. We really believe in free and fair trade, so we don't get into government subsidies that distort the playing field. But government can be in partnership in business, particularly with small and medium-sized ousiness that might not have the knowledge of what it takes to be

involved in exporting to different markets. Q. In the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, many people think American business has been lagging behind its European counterparts. Is this

something you worry about?

A. The U.S. is the biggest investor in Hungary and probably second in Czecho-slovakia and Poland. In the former republies, yes, we are behind, but I think we're going to catch up quickly. The president is encouraging business to focus on it. In addition, the new republics need to foster a friendlier climate for investment. Trade

agreements help, but they have got to do some things to stabilize the legal environ-ment, the financial environment and oot have laws that pop out of nowhere and change overnight. But even though there are risks and uncertainty. American business is willing to take some risks to get a foothold. We've got nowhere to go but up.

Q. You've said it is not the American way for government to tell business what it should be doing. Do you think the government needs new tools to advance the nation's economic interest abroad?

A. No. I don't think so. I'll tell you where I think American business stands today. We're a lot more competitive than some people give us credit for. We're better at some things, innovation and entrepreneur-ship, than anybody else in the world. Our newly restructured big companies are in a much better position to compete globally. It's just a question of more focus on it.

Q. What are you most worried about?

A. We'te looking for ways to re-energize entrepreneurship. Americans are better at it than anyone else in the world, but nonetheless, husiness formations have gone down a little bit over the last few years. That is a disturbing trend if continued, because that is where most of our new jobs come from. Maybe it has happened because of the recession and the credit crunch, but we want to make sure something more fundamental isn't going on.

HERDBUOYS: Ads for a Changing South Africa

advertisers have never talked to the consumers, never been to black areas. For black media, they might use a black model instead of a white model, or translate from English to the vernacular."

He describes one campaign for Omo detergent in which the mes-sage in English was: "At the end of the month I always buy Omo. Omo removes all my difficult stains." As translated into an African language, the female model announced: "I use Omo because it takes out difficult end-of-the-

What makes advertising in this culture difficult is the degree of crossover readership. Although aimed at a white readership, newspapers like The Star and the Sunday Times actually have more black readers. As people get different messages by flipping stations or glancing at a second oewspaper, "eventually you get a schizophrenie product and the product suffers," Mr. Vundla said. "We look to create mersage that smelt be a horse ate messages that speak to a house-wife in Soweto, but also to a Sand-

Being able to reach both is a claim no other agency can make, the creative director, Dennis Mashabela, believes. "Other agencies

ton housewife."

While we write in English, we can

think in the black context." Herdbuoys's atypical perspecagency has not lost a pitch yet.
Its presentation to the National

Peace Committee, a coalition working to promote peace, shows the agency's willingness to dispense with coovention. The agency opened the hour by announcing to the executives, most of whom are white, "What we present here will probably not make sense to you, but that's O.K. because it's not meant for you," Mr. Nishingila re-called. The campaign is intended to ease tensions io specific areas

plagued by violence.

The agency proposed a radio spot targeted to the township dweller: Two people in an everyday setting — say, sitting on a hus — would be talking about the peace accord, one speaking Zulu and the other translating into Sotho.
"Blacks will hear this and think: This is what I hear in my life. This ad is speaking to me," " Mr. Ntshin-

Herdbuoys has also developed a campaign to introduce Naconal Sorgham Breweries' first food product, Ting, an instant version of fermented sorghum porridge, a ru-

"When we present Ting at point than stick in of sale, we give it first-class treat-conscience."

(Continued from first finance page) aren't going to help them do it ment, following all the rules of because they haven't a bloody elue first-world food marketing." Mr. as to how, he said, "This is a Nushingila said, In the billboards, polarized society. All of us grew up displays and magazine ads. Ting is in the townships, and our lives are shown as part of an attractive meal, still entwined with the townships. "We treat the product with a lot of "We treat the product with a lot of respect, and that gives the consum-

er dignity." he said. Herdbuoys is committed to cretive and its bold, tell-it-like-it-is style has taken the business community by surprise, and even by white advertisers to portray blacks storm. Mr. Nishingila says the as they see us," Mr. Vundla said. Now we have the opportunity to portray blacks as we see ourselves

and how we want to be seen." One reason for the white bias is the dearth of blacks in advertising and marketing positions — about 5 percent of total personnel. Mr. Mashabela notes that firms typically have a "black market expert." essentially a one-person judge-and-jury to "approve" ads for the black market. He rails against such tokenism. "I cannot speak for 26 million people," he said.

Another barrier to communication is a lingering discomfort on the part of whites. According to Bryan Gabriel of the Media Business, a consulting firm in Braamfontein. black consumers account for nearly 70 percent of sales of fast-moving consumer goods, yet only 15 per-cent of total advertising expenditure for television and only 6 per-cent of the total for print was

dedicated to black media. The attitude has been, 'I feel safer putting ad money into the white market, "he said. "The me-dia should be adapting. Much black media hasn't gotten off the ground as companies do little more than stick in a few ads to ease the

ADS: Courting Poland's Consumers

(Continued from first finance page)

heard it from a friend who heard it Some Polish marketing experts believe Wash 'n' Go also fell victim

to the suspicions of a generation raised on propaganda. Under the previous regime, television and newspapers purveyed propaganda. The phrase television lies" was a slogan for the Sohdarity movement. Vidal Sassoon's Wash 'n' Go,

which was heavily advertised on television, radio and newspapers, may well have been harmed by this inverse logic: the more something is advertised, the worse it must be. Fears were also fed by President Lech Walesa, who said in speeches and interviews earlier this year that the West was dumping "brightly packaged junk" on Poland.

to a recent public-opinion survey, 37 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement, "Any product that is advertised is surely poor." On the other hand, 31 percent said repeated advertising must mean the product is of high quality. Billions of dollars are at stake. From 1990 to 1991, Poland's imports, mostly from the West, rose by more than \$6 billion, to \$15.6 billion. Much of the increase in the last vear was in consumer goods from Western Europe or European

subsidiaries of American concerns

like Heinz or Ford. In 18 mooths,

Procter & Gamble's office here has

gone from one person - Mr. Delvaux --- to 100 employees

The companies vying for the Polish market are among the first to grasp that the official income stalistics - which say the average worker earns \$130 a month - are

vastly understated. While millions of Poles live at or near the poverty level, perhaps 10 percent to 20 percent of the population of 38 million enjoys a considerably better standard of living, eigenstandard e ther through jobs in the underground economy or in the

growing private sector. Mr. Smilowski of Pentor acknowledged that no one had ever produced a definitive study of income in Poland. In his judgment, consumer sales are the best avail-

able yardstick, "The first videocassettes appeared in 1985," be said, "Today, there are 4 million. The first satellite TVs were in 1989. Today there are over a million, and some say it's closer to 1.4 million. Color TVs? Only last year Poles bought 1.2 million sets. General Motors estimates that Poles bought \$1.5 bil-

lion worth of cars last year." Dozens of Western companies have flocked to Pentor and other Polish agencies for advice. Marketing and advertising is a new field in Poland, and it has attracted worldwide industry leaders like Young & Rubicam, as well as a bost of new locally owned competitors.

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A EUROPEAN POWER IN WORLDWIDE BANKING

COMPANY RESULTS

WINNER: Glory and a Tax Break

(Continued from page I)
Martha's Vineyard a nonprofit organization and take all the expenses off my income tax," said the

writer, Howard Young.
In addition to the \$10 million that Mr. Koch contributed directly, private foundations he controls have contributed \$40 million to-ward the \$68.5 million raised by the America Foundation, officials said. Mr. Koch declined to quantify the tax benefits he derived from the contributions channeled through the private foundations, which are

also tax-exempt.

Mr. Koch, 52, son of the late oil industry tycoon Fred Koch, lives in Palm Beach, Florida, and owns a the 400 richest people in America, according to Forbes magazine.

The story of his nautical shelter

is a case study of the way the U.S. tax code often presents openings for wealthy citizens with sophisticated legal advice.

"Everything we've done has been by the book," Mr. Koch said. But critics said the rules should be changed if they allow the America Foundation's tax exemption. And some tax experts questioned the way Mr. Koch has applied murky provisions of the code.

IRS officials said the law prohibits them from discussing tax issues as they relate to this case. The IRS granted the America Foundation charitable status in 1990 after the

foundation wrote that it would protional competition, something the tax code expressly favors.
In world-class sailing, as in other

competitions, however, the line between amateurs and professionals is blurry. The IRS makes assessments on a case-by-case hasis, taking compensation and other factors into account, said Marcus S. Owens, director of the IRS Exempt Sailors on Mr. Koch's yacht

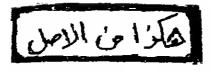
America' were paid salaries that averaged \$30,000 to \$40,000, said David Rosow, executive vice president of the America Foundation. Housing and expenses were covered as well.

A tax lawyer and former IRS official said the sailors' pay could cause the IRS to question their am-

The organization's charitable status "doesn't pass the smell test."

But America' officials said the pay crew members receive may be compensation for responsibilities other than sailing the boat. Now that the America's Cup is over, the foundation plans to support sailors in other amateur competitions. such as the Olympics, they said.

And the money Mr. Koch invested in research and developme have yielded technological at vances that eventually will bene recreational sailors, experts said



Computer Market Hits Profits in Japan

TOKYO - A bevy of Japanese electronics and electricalgoods companies said Tuesday that their profits tumbled in the financial year that ended March 31, most because of a flagging computer industry, and that the

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U.S. economy held the key to recovery this year.

Toehiba Corp., the diversified maker of electrical equipment, said pretax group profit fell 55.6 percent, to 114.86 billion year (\$890.7 million). The company was hit by a drop in profit in its computers and semiconductors mits because of a contracting market that pushed prices lower.

Toshiba has also been hit by oversupply in the world market for memory chips, which form a bigger part of its semiconductor business than for the other major electrical concerns. The company video-cassette recorder sales. Its heavy-electrical division, however, was healthy.

Group sales were essentially unchanged at 4.72 trillion yen. Net changed at 4.72 titulon yen. Net profit shamped 67.3 percent, to 39.49 billion yen. For the current year, Toshiba said it expected group sales of 4.95 billion yen. pretex profit of 120 billion yen and net profit of 50 billion yen.

NEC Corp., the world's biggest computer-chip producer, posted group pretax profit of 51.45 billion yen, down 61.7 percent, on sales that edged up 1.9 percent, to 3.77 trillion ven. Net income dropped

1990, the ministry said in a report.

1989, when West Germany took over.

Seiko Suffers in Slowdown

TOKYO - Seiko Corp. said Tuesday the worldwide economic slowdown and rising business costs pushed group current profit down 91 percent and parent profit down 26 percent in the latest year. The company, one of the world's largest makers of clocks and watches, said its group current, or pretax, profit fell to 547 million yen (4.27 million) in the year ended March 31. Seiko posted a group net loss of 2.27 billion yen.

Group revenue was flat, at 428 billion yen. Sales of watches, clocks

and jewelry fell 3.4 percent, to 317 billion yen, while sales of other products, including eyeglasses, rose 11.4 percent, to 111 billion yen. Parent current profit totaled 3.60 billion yen, down from 4.89 billion yen a year earlier. Sales fell 2.3 percent, to 298.74 billion yen from 305.68 billion yen.

Net profit rose 7 percent at the parent, to 1.51 billion yen from Seiko said it would try to hold down expenses this year. The

company added that it expected economic recoveries in the United States and Europe to help sales somewhat.

Seiko set its dividend at 10 yen, unchanged. (Bloomberg, Reuters)

"Although NEC's sales rose thanks to domestic computer sales, delayed recovery in the global semiconductor market and a strong yen pulled our profits down," said Yoshihiro Suzuki, senior vice president.

For this year, the company pre-dicted pretax profit would rise to 75 billion yea, sales would be 3.91 trillion yen and net income would advance to 30 billion yen. Mr. Suzuki said the U.S. market outlook was "particularly bright."

Fulitsu Ltd., a leading computer maker, said group current profit, similar to pretax income, fell 65.3

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Japan's net foreign asset holdings grew to \$383.1 billion in 1991, the Finance Ministry announced Tuesday, making the country the world's largest creditor.

Japan's net overseas holdings — the balance between assets and debts it holds abroad — hit another record in 1991, piling up an extra \$55 billion in the calendar year, from \$328.1 billion at the end of

Japan had held the top creditor position from 1985 to the end of

The rise in Japan's foreign assets reflected sharp gains in the

nation's current-account surplus, which doubled in 1991 to \$72.60

billion, from \$35.76 billion in 1990, the statistics show.

percent, to 51.59 billion ven, because of poor overseas demand. Sales rose 15.8 percent, to 3.44 trillion yen but semiconductor and export revenue fell. The com-pany also cited weakness in the financial industry, which reduced demand for its products.

The company's group net in-come plunged 85.2 percent, to 12.21 billion yen. Toshiba, NEC and Fujitsu based their outlooks for improved results this year on a recent rise in semiconductor demand in the United States and hopes the Japanese economy would pick up in the second half. But they also plan

than those in Hamburg in 1991.

sign that Japanese industry's carefree days of cheap money and high

investment levels are waning. Mitsubishi Electric Corp. Japan's third-biggest maker of electrical machinery and the top pro-ducer of defense electronics, said group pretax profit slid 40.7 percent, to 108.39 billion yen.

A spokesman said the slowing economy had forced manufacturers to cut back on investments in facilities and reined in demand for Mitsubishi's factory automation machinery.

Group sales were little changed at 3.34 trillion yen, up from 3.32 trillion. Net income fell 54.8 percent. to 36.07 billion yen. The company's outlook for this

year was glum, with group pretax profit falling to 95 billion yea, sales inching up to 3.35 trillion yen and net earnings of 37 billion yen. Sharp Corp., with its more di-versified busioess, declared a smaller decline in profits than the

computer-oriented concerns. The consumer and office-electronics concern said its current profit fell 19.3 percent, to 73.57 billion yen, as sales rose 1.4 percent, to 1.52 trillion yen. Net income fell 16.8 percent, to 39.06 billion yen. Revenue was buoyed by sales

of liquid-crystal displays, air conditioners and videotape players. Bot sales of audio and communication equipment along with tele-vision and video equipment, accounting for 40 percent of overall

Compiled by Our Staff From Dayasches

for goods and services, though the gap narrowed in 1991, according to a survey by the Economic Planning Agency made public Tuesday.

The survey showed that prices in Tokyo, on average, were 1.27 times higher than in New York, down from 1.39 times in 1988. The

price index for New York stood at 79 on the basis of 100 for Tokyo.

Prices in Tokyo were 1.16 times higher than in Paris and 1.09 times

higher than in London as the price index stood at 86 for Paris and 92

for London, the report said. Tokyo prices were also 1.32 times higher

But durable goods such as stereo sets, video-cassette recorders and

automobiles were cheaper in Tokyo than in Hamburg, Londoo and

TOKYO - Japan's capital is still the world's most expensive city

(Reuters, Bloomberg, UPI, AFP) World's Top Creditor Again ... and Most Expensive City

ADVERTISEMENT

Following Unrest in Thailand
Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches BANGKOK - Thailand's political unrest may cost it millions of dollars in higher interest rates on oew foreign loans and lead to delays in

infrastructure projects, analysts said Tuesday. "Credit risk is slowly going up, and all major projects will be postponed unless the unrest ends soon," said Suwapan Senivongs, a banking analyst at Smith New Court PLC in Bangkok.

Higher Credit Costs Feared

The analyst said Thailand's credit ratings may be assessed for new lines

of credit being raised abroad, including a \$100 million loan to finance expansion of the state-owned Thai Airways International Ltd.

The expectations of higher rates helped push Thai stocks lower on Tuesday. The SET index fell 12.84 points, to 729.58, amid unfounded rumors of the appointment of a new prime minister and profit-taking. Standard & Poor's Corp. said last week that it might downgrade the Aminus long-term debt and A-1 commercial paper of Thailand. It cited the civil unrest that led to scores of deaths when soldiers loyal to the military-backed government of Prime Minister Suchinda Kraprayoon opened fire

on pro-democracy protesters. Infrastructure projects threatened with delay include a \$3.2 billion mass-transit system and the \$2.6 billion sky train, an elevated-rail system. Analysts believe the government has yet to negotiate a major portion of

the foreign financing for the two projects.

BNZ, Lifting Net, Stays **Silent on Sale Rumors**

WELLINGTON - Bank of New Zealand posted a large profit Tuesday for the latest financial year, marking a return to health 18 months after being bailed out by the government. But executives declined comment on whether the

bank would soon have new owners. Chairman Syd Pasley said that selling the bank was "a marter for the shareholders" and was "wbolly speculative at this stage."

Expectations of a sale announcement were high ahead of the re-sults, with BNZ's share price having risen 22 percent in the past month, partly on expectations of improved profits but mostly on rumors that B sale to National Aus-

tralia Bank was imminent. For the year ended March 31, Bank of New Zealand posted a net profit of 171.1 million New Zealand dollars (\$91.4 million), up almost 30

percent from the year before.

Bad debts, the source of most of the bank's problems in recent years, appeared to be under control. Although the provision for New Zealand corporate history. "I doubtful debts rose 67 percent, to have spent much of the last three 46 million dollars, the figure was years in firefighting mode," he said.

The government, which holds a 58.2 percent stake in BNZ, has said it will sell its shareholding but will not say when. Asked if the result improved the chances of the government making a good sale, Mr. Pasley replied: "Hopefully."

The government, then under the Labor Party, first tried to sell the bank in 1987 but pulled it off the market because it said bids were too low. It has twice had to inject

capital to rescue the bank. Poor performing loans worth 2.83 billioo dollars were also moved out of the BNZ into the

subsidiary Adbro Investments. A sale to National Australia would leave only one of more than 20 banks operating in New Zealand in local hands.

The New Zealand stock market closed before the profit oews and BNZ was steady at 78 cents.

Chief executive Lindsay Pyne expressed satisfaction at the result compared with three years ago, when it recorded the biggest loss in have spent much of the last three

(Reuters, Bloomberg)



Very briefly:

International Natural Rubber Organization officials said rubber-consuming nations had agreed to start early talks with growers on a new pact; the current pact expires in December 1993.

. Hong Kong's consumer price index rose 8.9 percent in April from a year earlier, the smallest gain since February 1990, the government said. • Stone Group, China's leading private computer company, plans to issue shares in the near future, the China Daily quoted the company's presi-

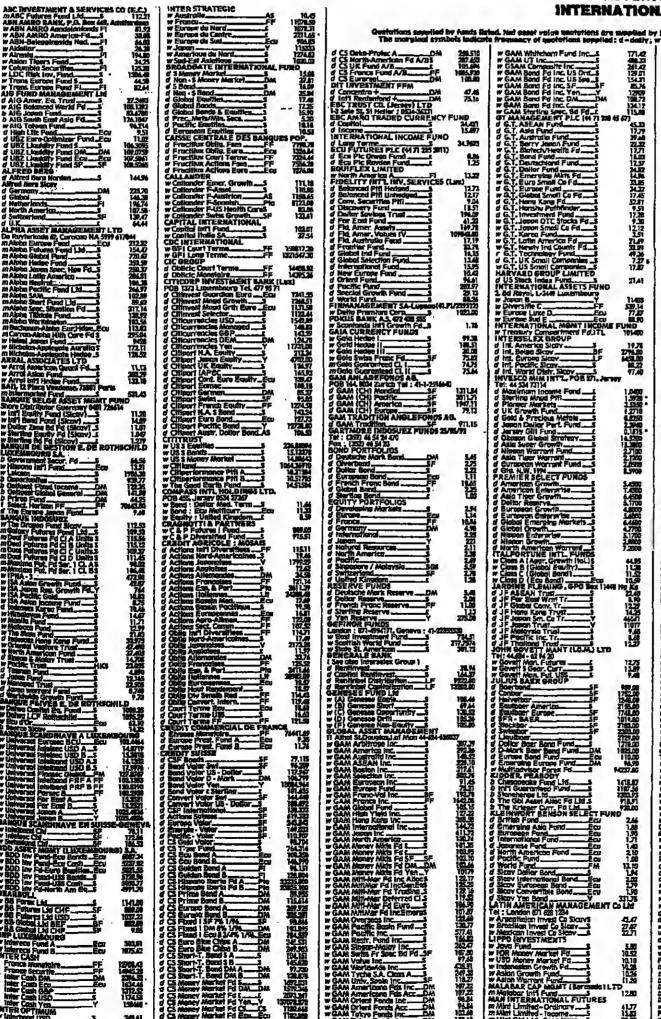
dent, Duan Yongji, as saying. • Sega Enterprises Ltd. of Japan and General Electric Co. of the United States will jointly develop low-cost chips with high visual quality for computer graphics, a Sega spokesman said.

Shanghai Acts to Cool Stock Prices

BELITING — Shanghai, trying to cool its overheated stock exchange, has outlawed investment syndicates, which have been bidding up the

The ban was effective Tuesday, the official Wen Hui Bao oewspaper reported. It said the oew rules were designed to protect small and

The moves reflect alarm among exchange officials at the surge in share prices since restrictions were lifted on daily price fluctuations last Thursday. That day, the Shanghai index more than doubled, to close at 1,265.79. Prices have cootinued to rise, although at a slower pace.



INTER STRATEGIC INTERNATIONAL FUNDS May 26, 1992 AREA FORD LIGHTS LIGHTS AND AREA FORD LIGHTS AND AREA FORD LIGHTS LIGHTS AND AREA FORD FORD AND AREA FORD 11,09 d Equity North America.
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SPORTS

The Wildness Stops With Yanks on Top

By Jack Curry
New York Tunes Service

NEW YORK - It was an inning that did not want to end in a series that could not stop producing wild quicomes between two teams that shook their heads in wonder at the wackiness prevailing for four straight days at Yankee Stadium.

Though the Yankees and Milwankee Brewers each snared two victories on a holiday weekend when comebacks, extra innings and amazing plays were oormal, it was New York's nine-run eighth inning Monday that gave the series the finale it deserved.

The nutburst, keyed by a grand slam home run by Danny Tarta-hull, catapulted the Yankees to a 13-10 victory.

Somewhere, somehow, twn teams have probably played four games like this, but neither Milwaukee's manager, Phil Garner, nor any of the Yankees could recall

AMERICAN LEAGUE

such a series. Monday's game was especially wild. How often do the first 10 hatters

in an inning reach base? How often does one full inning last 74 minutes? How often do teams combine for

23 runs and 35 hits in a nine-inning "The whole series was amazing," said Mike Gallego. "To give up leads and take back leads. It was a

great series to watch and a great series to be a part of." Both hullpens endured two extra-inning games and each doused few fires during the four-game series. The Brewers won, 10-9, in 14

innings Friday night. They won again, 5-4, in 10 innings Saturday. The Yankees rebounded from a 7-1 deficit to win in the ninth, 8-7, on Sunday.

And then there was the Memori-

al Day to remember. Reliever Steve Farr, who could

oot protect a 4-3 lead, said, "It wasn't fun for me today, but it was fun for everybody else."

Both Steve Howe and Farr were

ineffective in the top of the eighth, when the Brewers scored four runs and grabbed a 7-4 lead. Howe allowed three straight singles to load the bases and Farr allowed three walks, but surrendered one single.

It got so frustrating for Farr that be threw a pitch behind Greg Vaughn on a 3-0 count to walk him.



Danny Tartabull gesturing as his grand slam clears the wall in New York's 13-10 win over Milwaukee.

It was the last hatter be faced. After starter Chris Bosio allowed two singles to open the eighth. Milwankee countered with James Aus-

tin, and the avalanche accelerated. When it was over, the Yankees had sent 13 men to the plate against four pitchers, had scored nine runs, made eight hits and had consumed

minutes.

Roberto Kelly's two-run single

twn home runs on pitches well outside the strike zone, driving in four

gave the Yankees a 9-7 lead and Tartabull put an exclamation point runs and scoring three to lead Cleveland on the inning with his first grand

his career. In other games, The Associated Press reported: Indians 10, Athletics 6: In Oakland, California, Albert Belle hit

It was the third straight game in slam as a Yankee and the eighth of which Belle had homered, and the

drives were his third and fourth homers in a span of 10 at-bats. Mariners 7, Orioles 3: Dave Fleming won his sixth straight decision and Pete O'Brien hit his 11th homer and drove in three runs as

Those Persistent Pitching Problems

New York Times Service

Critical to the Yankees' presence in the American League East race will be their pitching staff, which has been shaky for several years.

One improvement this year is that the starters are lasting longer in games, not overworking the bullpen as happened last year: After 43 games last year, relievers had made 104 appearances, whereas this year they have been summoned 83 times.

Still, Scott Sanderson, Melido Perez, Tim Leary, Greg Cadaret and Scott Kamieniecki are not expected to win a divisioo championship, no matter how many innings they pitch into games, no matter how effective Steve Farr, Steve Howe, John Habyan and Rich Monteleone are in relief.

The fragility of the staff was glaringly on display Monday in the fiasco with the Brewers. Kamieniecki pitched a strong five innings, then struggled through the sixth, in which the Brewers scored three runs and sliced the Yankees' lead to 4-3.
When the first two batters in the seventh singled,

Monteleone relieved and did what a member of a crack relief corps is supposed to do: He got a double play and a strikeout, and the inning was over.
But the infield single Monteleone allowed at the

start of the eighth put Howe and Farr in position to show some of their worst work of the season. "A couple of things I did I got upset with myself," said Howe, whn made his third successive ineffective outing after having made uone in his first 13 games.
"Things I didn't do. Not my stuff. This part."
He pointed to his head, meaning he didn't think intelligently during his three-batter, two-hit onting.

Farr faced five batters: four reached base, three on walks, one with a two-run single. He had oot allowed so many baserunners in any of his previous 13 games

and had averaged only one runner per appearance.

Lee Guetterman, the Yankees' last pitcher, threatened oot to convert a six-run lead into a victory. He has been the team's most ineffective reliever this season, and his presence in the game at that time did not speak well for the entire staff.

Brushback Ignites a Padres' Slugger

SAN DIEGO - Pittsburgh's Zane Smith gave up a three-run home run to Tony Gwynn and then inocked down Gary Sheffield with a high inside pitch. Whether by de-sign or accident, that was a mistake.

Sheffield hammered Smith's next pitch, a changeup, into the second deck in left field to extend the longest hitting streak in the major leagues this season to 18 games as the Padres held off the Pirates on Monday night, 7-6. Sheffield leads the National League with 37 RBIs.

NATIONAL LEAGUE The Pirates made it close, though. Barry Bonds hit a two-run homer in the seventh and Cecil Espy an RBI double in the eighth to make it 7-4. The Pirates got two more in the ninth on Bonds's RBI double and an odd play in which Gwynn's strong throw mened Orlando Merced's apparent single to right into a force play at second, Bonds scoring.

Cardinals 6, Dodgers 5: Felix Jose singled off second baseman Lenny Harris' glove with two cuts in the hottom of the minth inning, driving home the winning run.

Luis Alicea opened the ninth with a single that bounced out of first haseman Eric Karros's glove. Alicea advanced on a fly out, took third on Jay Howell's wild pitch and scored on Jose's scratch single.

Astros IO, Expos 8: Pete Incaviglia homered and drove in four runs as Houston built a 10-0 lead after four innings, then held on as Moo-treal rallied for six runs in the bottom of the ninth.

Phillies 4, Braves 1: In Philadel-phia, Terry Mulholland won his fifth straight decision and Lenny Dykstra hit a three-run homer.

Reds 3, Mets 0: In New York, Chris Hammond and two relievers shut out New York on five hits. Pete Schourek, recalled from the minors to pitch in place of the in-jured Bret Saberhagen, gave up one run in six innings and took the loss.

The Business and the Game Paul Gascoigne, Satellite TV: It's All Money

L ONDON — A funny thing happened on the way from a Roman forum to London's High

Court this week.

While Paul Gascoigne, the errant showman of English soccer, was finally sold to Lazio of Rome, lawyers in London were wrangling on Tuesday over the ethicality of a £304 million (\$553 million)

contract selling
English league
rights to satellite
television.

At a stroke England's new Premier League, devalued by losing its star, was rewarded in cash beyond its wildest dreams from entrepreneurs to whom soccer is the key to hreaking viewers' resistance to paying for

their TV sport. There are many ironies here. A central figure is Alan Sugar. Sugar's electronics company, Amstrad PLC, makes satellite dishes, and a little of his

fortune made him chairman of Tottenham Hot-spur when the club faced bankruptcy last year. He knows more about profit and loss accounts than most soccer directors will ever comprehend about their game. In Sugar's terms you sell before you huy, and rebuilding Spurs can only begin now the club has reaped £1 million from Japan for Gary Lineker and, at long last, £5.5 million from Italy

for Gascoigne. Tottenham, shorn of its two attractions, is in the market for new players. The fans will pay either through drastically increased ticket prices next season or by buying a £200 dish and in the future paying a subscription to see their team on BSkyB.

Sugar did as much as any man to seal the liveyear deal giving Sky exclusive rights to Premier League matches, while the BBC becomes a junior pariner showing recorded highlights. Wearing his soccer chairman's hat, Sugar heard behind closed doors that the initial Sky-BBC bid fell short of a rival offer of £262 million from Britain's other network channel, ITV.

Sugar did not deny be telephoned Sky urging it to top the ITV sum and "blow them out of the water." No one, least of all the chairmen of England's other 21 premier clubs, can claim they did not know Sugar's vested interest. The court rejected ITV's claim that Sugar's intervention constituted a

breach of confidence and unfair practice.
England thus lines up with Italy and Prance
where Silvio Berinsconi and Bernard Tapic pioneered the duality of TV and club ownership.

The money is irresistible. Soccer has a popularity that enlarges franchises other consumer products cannot reach. Up to oow, Sky had as its most popular slot an American comedy, The Simpsons, with an andience of 920,000.

League soccer in England regularly attracts 7

million. By one calculation, if 300,000 soccer addices buy a dish, BSkyB would, with advertising and subscriptions, recoup its £60 million annual outlay.

Before we dehumanize soccer into mere images flitting across the silver screen, we might remind ourselves that there is a game inside the business. A game involving individuals as gifted and as vulner-

able as a Gascoigne.

His career had been on ice for a whole year since his own wild tackle backfired and threatened the ligaments and cartilage in his right knee. John Browett, a London surgeon, stitched and screwed the tissue into place, and also pieced together the shattered kneecap when Gazza became embroiled in a nightclub fracas last fall.

But Gascoigne saved himself with an obsessive determination. The threat to his career matured him from an irresponsible overgrown schoolboy into a 25-year-old man refusing to hear cynical opinions that be had self-destructed.

Chrysalis television persuaded Gascoigne two days after he entered hospital to trust them and has made a video entitled "Gazza: the road back." The documentary will be shown on ITV -yes, ITV on June 7, the day England's weakened team leaves without him for the European championships.

There will, you may be sure, be another film depicting his first season in Italian soccer.

Making it in Italy is subject to astronomical rewards and equivalant pain. The transfer fees have spiraled again with Juventus's £12 million purchase of Sampdoria's Gianluca Vialli.

On a good day, Vialli scores goals rather better than his dreadful mis-hits during last week's Euroseth Chapmiens Cup final. And goals make Mar-

pean Champions Cup final. And goals make Mar-co van Basten a player beyond price at AC Milan. Van Basten's slender ankles, kicked black and

hlue, will make museum pieces of damaged tissue. Ice packs keep him going, but last Sunday, when Milan romped to an 8-2 victory over Foggia, "Mar-co Golo" struck his personal target of two goals. HE NEEDED those to become the first player since Luis Vinicio for Vicenza a quarter of a century ago to reach 25 goals in an Italian first division season.

In doing so, van Basten eclipsed three great Italian scorers who each hit 24: Paolo Rossi (Vi-

cenza 1977-78), Giorgio Chinaglia (Lazio 1973-74) and Roberto Boninsegna (Inter 1970-71).

The limbs permitting, Milan's Dutchman can now start chasing the ghosts of Italy's scoring gods. There was Felice Borel, a Juventus center forward of the early 1930s who hit 29 goals in 28 games. Roma then imported an Argentine, Enrico

Guaita, to score 28 times in 29 games during the 1934-35 season. Then Milan's Gunner Nordahl hit 35 goals in 37 games in 1949-50. And Antonio Angelillo struck 33 goals in 33 games for Inter during 1958-59.

Without television, we cannot compare the goal gods of different eras. But to an Italian the great scorers are men you must see in the flesh. I hope, while the game sells itself to satellite technology. we never lose sight of that.

Rob Highes is on the staff of the Sanday Times.

BOOKS

WATERGATE IN AMERICAN MEMORY: How We Remember, Forget And Reconstruct the Past

By Michael Schudson. 304 pages. \$24. Basic Books, 10 East 53d Street, New York, New York 10022.

Reviewed by Michael Kazin

WAS Watergate the greatest scandal in presidential history? Or the logi-cal result of decades of White House secrecy and an obsession with "national security"? Or a conspiracy by liberal journalists to drive the hero of Middle America from office? Or a constitutional crisis that demonstrated that "the sys-

tem" works? The truth argues Michael Schudson, is all of the above. The two years of events that climaxed with the resignation of President Richard Nixon are significant because we remember them in divergent ways and use those memories to craft the future. His book is a series of acute reflections on what Watergate has meant to us during the two decades since the night of June 17, 1972, when a security guard named Frank Wills telephoned the Washington police to report an illegal

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way to keep up with the lates:

Worldwide

entry at the luxurious bechive of apartments and offices that squats along the Potomac. Echoing current philosophical wisdom, Schudson maintains that the past is largely something we collectively con-struct. The facts of break-in, cover-up, revelation and resignation are perpetually

bound up within a legacy of contention. That may sound like the premise for an extended academic workout but Schudson, the author of previous books on the press and advertising, takes a ssionate interest in the controversies he describes. He becomes enraged at how a public display at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California, edits the notorious tapes and distorts the way the cover-up occurred. He enjoys debunking naive and self-serving myths — like the belief (held by many college students) that two young Washington Post report-ers, almost single-handedly, brought down an entire administration.

And he reminds us of the many ways Watergate has colored contemporary politics. Among the more salient: campaign-finance reform, special prosecu-tors, the revival of muckraking, the rise of journalists as celebrities, a deep cyni-

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laden with such terms as "smoking gun," "stonewalling" and "cover-up." The con-tinning debate over whether Nixon has shed his criminal image ("rehabilitated" elf, to use the r indicates how tenacious is the public memory of how he acquired it.

Schudson brings to these matters a fine sense of irony about the strange paths memory can take. A witty chronicle of G. Gordon Liddy's successful recent career as an icon of mock notoriety (whose license plate reads "H20GATE") segues into erstwinie felon Jeb Magruder's position atop a big city's Com-mission on Values and Ethics and the widely reported news, in 1975, that John Erlichman had grown a beard. "For the media," Schudson writes, "Erlichman fit the portrait of the right wing loosening up. just as sixties' anu-war activists who turned to husiness or religion in the 1970s were for the media irresistible em-blems of the Left turning conventional."

For all its virtues of perspective and anecdote, however, Schudson's book does not convince that Watergate has had either great or lasting import. Part of

FICTION

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12 THE LIVING, by Amer Di-

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THE ROAD TO OMAHA, by

REVOLUTION FROM WITHIN by Carls Science GIVE WAR A CHANCE by

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cism about presidents and a vocabulary the problem is his reluctance to state firm conclusions about anything other than the nature of historical inquiry itself. Surely, one can dissect conflicting narratives without assuming an agnostic about how social memory works in the abstract than about what difference the thole quarrelsome thicket of scheming

and expose has made in our national life, His preference is, in part, a function of how the events of Watergate were experi-enced as they occurred. The Vietnam War, the black freedom movement and the feminist upsurge are features of "the sixties" whose hopes and agonies continue to shape the present But Americans perceived Watergate almost exclusively as news. The Ervin Committee, the impeachment proceedings, Nixon's resignation and Ford's pardon were wreaching emotional matters for only a select, if unlucky, few. Schudson writes. "For most Ameri cans Watergate was action at a distance.

Michael Kazin, who teaches history at American University, wrote this for The Washington Post.

> ROGUE WARRIOR, by Richard Murcinko with John TWO NATIONS, by Andrew

> Davis HEAD TO READ, by Lesser

ME STORIES OF MY LIFE

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by Katharine Hepburg
9 ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, by
Rlanche Wirsen Cock
10 WHO WILL TELL THE
PEOPLE by Wilkins Greider
11 MIRACLE MAN, by Nolan
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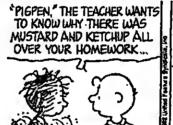
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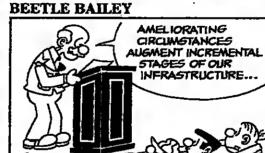


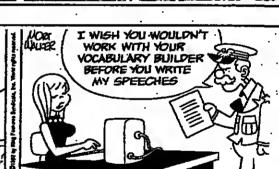
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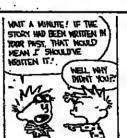




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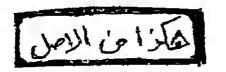




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John McEuroe contemplating a missed point during his first-round loss to Nicklas Kulti of Sweden, 6-2, 7-5, 6-7 (5-7), 7-5.

'My Time Has Passed,' Says McEnroe in Defeat

By Ian Thomsen

International Herald Tribune PARIS — He said goodbye with a running, lunging leap, the left arm outstretched across his body, his legs spread apart like a spry frog. The ball bounced off the rim of John McEnroe's racket. He landed in a fetal crouch, clutching his temples. When he looked up the Swede was almost on top of him, smiling, to shake McEnroe's hand.

The score was 6-2, 7-5, 6-7 (5-7), 7-5. That almost says it. The four-hour afternoon was all groaning and torure for McEnroe. At times it seemed that he was trying to prove at 33 that he could still push a refrigerator up five flights of stairs all by himself. At times the fridge door opened and actually bit him with long, sharp teeth. On those occasions he cried out, embarrassed his audience, and then talked himself back to the job. He had already announced that this likely would be his last French Open.

"I'm disappointed I lost, but everything comes to an end," McEuroe said. "I suppose I'm a little bit sad. There's good and bad in every situation, and hopefully I'll take the good out of it and move on. As a player, when you don't play anymore you're sort of admitting defeat in a way, but the point comes when you have to make that decision."

It was to McEnroe's credit as a champion, and a timeless term that is, that he was able to survive the services and baseline plays of Nicklas Kulti, a Swede bearing the advantages of a dozen fewer years and 4 inches (10 centimeters) of height and strength beyond McEnroe. Underneath his large white cap McEnroe looked even smaller. In the opening set Kulti passed

McEnroe at the net without hesitation. By early in the clay, knocked stray balls all over the court, almost second set, when McEnroe had been broken four striking the net judge, hitting a pretty woman in the times, the crowd, which at every crucial juncture tried to awaken McEnroe's past with rbythmic applause. could only help their hero with the sound of 16,500 people fidgeting. In such a stadium that noise is as comforting as rats scurrying through pipes.

Everything might have changed had McEnroe been able to win one of four break points to win the second

It was to McEnroe's credit that he was able, for a while, to survive the services and baseline plays of Nicklas Kulti, a Swede a dozen years younger and 4 inches taller than he.

set. Instead, Kulti held, then broke McEnroe at 30-40 for the set. McEnroe threw his racket toward the net. earning a warning from the ampire, with whom McEnroe shered a typically uncomfortable

McEnroe said. "Also the court was a lot different than the ones I've been practicing on. It was kicking up high, and it took me a while to get adjusted." Yet the conditions changed in his favor, as they so often have for McEnroe. He kicked up a dust of red

"I think the start hurt me more than anything."

break points to stay even, and it seemed as though, if he could force things to a fifth set, the day might fall

second row, scaring the ball boys — he shouted and cursed, be told a judge to shut up, he asked the umpire whether he spoke English, he did this and that and whatever he felt like doing until it was the third set, a tiehreaker, and suddenly he was winning a point from Kulu's serve. Each held throughout the nebreaker remainder, but one break was enough. The crowd was applauding him as a group, a few of them shouting praise upon him like drunks from an alley; he was just one set down and somehow he was winning. He twice staved off

"I felt the pressure was on me," MeEnroe said. "I could bave had an easier draw than Kulti, but I felt like this still was a match I should have won. If I could have gone a couple of rounds and then played one of the top guys, then the pressure wouldn't have been on me anymore. That's what I would have wanted."

He said he had no hopes of winning the tournament. Arrangements had already been made for McEnroe to become a commentator for NBC at this tournament as soon as be was knocked out of the field. Yet he knew also what Jimmy Connors had done in the French and U.S. Opens last year — when the audiences began to recall such similar occurrences as Jack Nicklaus winning a Masters at age 46 - and he needed simply to get past this one day and onto the next. How he did it

Most of his talk was private, scrambled unintelligibly to the surrounding and inspecting him. He velled like Fred Flintstone and swore like a burn. At times the crowd whistled and jeered him, but those incidents were quickly forgotten. They loved him now, because he was not what be used to be, no other reason than

that, and he was trying his best.
As for Kulti, he could have walked past the audience in street clothes a half-bour after the match, and who would have recognized him? He was but the necessary opponent, praised momentarily for his myr-ied of wonderful shots on this day, but then forgotten just as quickly, as the people were watching the ball and McEnroe, the ball and McEnroe, as if he were

only engaged in a match against his memory.
"Good things?" McEnroe said. "The crowd was nice. I'll remember that. And I was hitting the ball pretty good, I thought. That about covers the good things that I'll be able to take out of this today.

He had only to hold serve at 5-6 in the fourth to force a tichreaker and potentially a final set. But he mis-hit a backhand: 15-30. Kuln scorched a crosscourt return of a first serve across McEnroe's feet: 15-40.

Now the crowd was clapping in unison, thumping the chest of the patient. McEnroe endured one rally, but at 30-40 Kulti passed him down the line, and McEnroe could nnly walk back to the bench, standing to change his shirt while the people rose to their feet in

"I think realistically my time has passed and it's time for other people." MeEnroe said. "When you feel like you bave no chance of winning. I mean, I don't see

As He Starts Over, Color Agassi Relaxed

By Nick Stout International Herald Tribune

PARIS - The dominant color on his first day out was turquoise (under denim shorts), but Andre Agassi promised to sport at least one more slice of the rainbow this week or next -- and he even vowed Milan Duchas p to put on traditional whites when he plays doubles later on with John

Agassi, starting over again in his quest for a French championship a title that he came so close to winning last year and the year before - registered a 6-1, 6-4, 6-4 trinmph Tuesday over Javier Frana a 25-year-old Argentine whose only authority to date has come in doubles.

"Surprisingly enough, I felt so related being here," said Agassi, who has been trying for some time to figure out why his ranking has dropped to No. 12. Agassi said be had sared to refer to the control to the said along the said said. had expected to "feel a lot of pres-

with satisfaction, "everything is falling right in line."

Agassi dispensed with Frana in an hour and 49 minutes under a searing early afternoon sun. He wore a wristwatch on court, perhaps as a reminder to finish these early matches as quickly as possible.

Agassi's only irritation was Frana's left-handed forehand, which occasionally was good for some pretty winners down the line. Otherwise it was his match from start to finish, and Frana — who had never played singles at Roland Garros Stadium -- was reduced to scolding himself repeatedly in rapid Spanish, Ricky Ricardo style.

Agassi may not have been scold-ing himself, but he has been doing some soul searching in the past year. In an effort to break his slump Agassi even began to practice four hours a day - a lot for him. But when it did not produce sure, feel a lot of tension, you results, he went back to his old know, work through a lot of take-life-easy routine.

quoted as having said earlier this year: "If you make Andre pound the practice court, be's not going to quit the game."

Christmastime and began to suffer pangs of regret. "I realized how much I wanted it,

and how disappointed I was," Agassi said. The only thing to do, he said, was to "kind of turn your mind inside out and start looking ahead." Agassi was not the only competi-

tor here Tuesday with painful hindbow it felt to he back on Center Court for the first time since Michael Chang outfoxed him in that memorable fourth-round match of 1989, he shot back: "I don't know what you're talking about."

Lendl, who skipped the 1990

Major League Leaders

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HITS—R.Alemar, Toronto, \$2; R.Keity, NY, \$5; Puckett, Minnesato, \$5.
DOUBLES—Jeiferles, Karsses City, M; Seitzer, Milmoukee, 14; Mattimary, NY, 14.
TRIPLES—Anderson, Bultimore, \$1; Burts, Baston, 3; Roines, Orlicoso, 3; Hore field with I. HOME RUNS—McGafre, Ookland, 17; Deer, Oetroit, 13; O'Strien, Seottis, 11.
STOLEN BASES—Lufton, Cleveland, 22; R.Henderson, Ockland, 21.
PITCH 1980 (4 Decisions)—Ju.Guzmon, Toronto, 6-0, 1000, 287; Fleming, Seottis, 6-1, 257, 136.
STRIKEOUTS—Clemans, Barkon, 46; Ju-Guzman, Toronto, 4-2; Perez, NY, 57.
SAVES—Eckersley, Ockland, 17; Aguilero, Minnegolo, 13.

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His coach, Nick Bollettieri, was beat Sergi Bruguera on Tuesday, 6-

Stefan Edberg, seeded No. 2, eliminated a 25-year-old Frenchwin the French Open. He's going to man named Olivier Soules, 7-5, 6-1, uit the game."

6-7 (5-7), 7-5. The contest might
The loss to Jim Courier in the have ended sooner if Edberg had 1991 final has been haunting not squandered a couple of match Agassi since he woke up one day at points at 5-3 in the third and double-faulted on another at 5-4.

Pete Sampras finished off Marc Rosset, 7-6 (7-5), 4-6, 6-4, 3-6, 6-3, in a match that was suspended Monday evening.

For the record, Monica Seles swept her first opponent aside in three quarters of an hour. She beat Catherine Mothe of France, 6-1, 6sight. When Ivan Lendl was asked 0, and then commented: "It was a good, comfortable first round, which I wanted it to be." Oddsmakers, meanwhile, have

rated Courier as a strong favorite to reclaim the championship. They are not, however, keen on Lendi's winning for a fourth time. When



tournament to concentrate on told he was rated 20-to-1. Lendl Wimbledon and who was forced on last year with a hand injury, you 20-to-1 and I'll go bet myself." Ferry after their shoving incident in the Cave' 99-85 victory.

Cavs Cross Jordan **And Still Square Series With Bulls**

By Clifton Brown

New York Times Service RICHFIELD, Ohin - The

Cleveland Cavaliers would have done. had plenty of excuses if they lost. Mark Price, their All-Star point guard, played with a stomach virus during the fourth game of the Cavs' pleyoff series against Chicago, Brad Daugherry, the All-Star center, was held without a field goal until the fourth quarter, frustrated by the Bulls' double-teaming

But the Cavaliers wanted victory, not excuses. Carried by a defense so intense it nearly led to a fight between Danny Ferry and the Bulls' Michael Jordan, Cleveland scrambled for an emotional 99-85 wictory on Sunday. That tied the four-of-seven-game Eastern Conference ebampionship series at 2-2. Game 5 will be played Wednes-

day night in Chicago. Withstanding a late rally sparked by Jordan, the Cavaliers answered every Chicago basket. After John Paxson made a 3-point jumper to pull the Bulls to 82-78 with four and a half minutes left. Larry Nance grabbed a rebound and scored on a lay-up.

After Jordan made a jumper in the lane, Mike Sanders made a 3pointer from 25 feet away (7.6 me-

dunk by Daugherty after a missed jumper hy Scottie Pippen. That made it 90-80, and the Bulls were

"A very disappointing loss for the Chicago Bulls," said the coach, Phil Jackson. "We couldn't carry the momentum from Game 3 into Game 4. I wasn't pleased with our execution and we didn't play a consistent game. It was a great effort. by Cleveland. It looks like this

one's going to go the length,"
Pippen had only 13 points and
was scoreless in the second balf, when the Bulls desperately needed him. Meanwhile, Jordan sweated for every one of his 35 points, and only two of his teammates reached double figures. An indication of Cleveland's

quarter when Ferry, a reserve forward, was ejected - with 10:05 left - for throwing two punches at Jordan. The incident began when Jordan and Ferry collided while Jordan

dug-in attitude came in the second

was cutting through the lane. The two players locked arms, then Ferty broke free and swung. Jordan said he had been hit on

the throat, but Ferry's punche barely grazed him if they landed at all. The price was automatic cjec-

Jordan cocked his right fist to retaliate, but Craig Ehln of Cleveland grahbed Jurdan from behind

Jordan is usually more dangerous when angered, but the incident seemed to inspire Cleveland more than Chicago. Cleveland led, 31-24, when the incident occurred, and extended the lead to 15 points later in the quarter. Jordan was loudly booed whenever be touched the

The Cavaliers, who never trailed; showed poise when the Bulls surrounded Daugherty (14 points, 14

rebounds) in the low post. Ehlo (21 points) made key jumpers, and Nance, with 22 points Results Tuesday to the 3rd stope of the Tour of Italy, 174-kilemeter (1973 miles) from Uliveto Terms to Arezzo: 1, Maximilion Sciandri, Italy, Special 3481 kpt (23,081 mph): 1, Massimilion Leill, Italy, same time; 3, Yvon Ledanois, France, 3.1.3 4, Claudio Chicopacci, Italy, s.f.; 5, Glorgie Forfan, Italy, s.f.
Overoll standings:; 1, Mayuel Induren, Spoin, nine hours, 28:05 minutes; 1, Yvon Ledanois, France, 7 seconds behind; 3, Lourent Bezzult, France, 10; 4, France Chicocoli, Italy, 12; 5, Doniel Steiser, Switzerland, 14, and 1) rebounds, and Williams asserted themselves inside. Meanwhile, rookie point guard Terrell Brandon ran the offense well when

"We had a lot of guys step up, which is exactly what we needed," said the Cavaliers coach, Lenny

The Cavaliers, who fell hehind, 26-4, in Game 3, were much sharper offensively. Nance provided inside offense with 13 first-half points, and Ehlo did his damage from outside, making three 3-point shots in the first half and scoring 14 points.

Bulls into a perimeter-shooting offense. Inrdan went to the foul line just once in the first half. Price, who spent Sunday night in

a bospital, managed to play 15 minutes in the first half, while his backup, Brandon, played 11 to give him a hreather.

defense, Cleveland led at half time,

Stop Lemieux? No, but Blackhawks Will Be Trying to Slow Him Down

By Dave Sell Washington Post Service

PITTSBURGH — One year ago, the Pittsburgh Penguins won their first Stanley Cup title in their 25-year history and revcico in 113 301 acrimony and tough times behind them. they were beginning the last phase in the quest for greater glory. "We've had a very trying year," General

Manager Craig Patrick said. "We lost a best friend and it's been very difficult." The late Bob Johnson coached the Penguins to that first Cup and his words —
"It's a great day for hockey" — were to echo throughout Civic Arena on Tuesday

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Major League Standings

night when the Pengnins defended their Bruins, who were swept by the Pengnins.

And you have to put a body on them, who haven't won a Stanley Cup since the with some force, to beat Pittsburgh.

group, but they have shown a willingness to crs room, thereby disrupting a team-decrown against the Chicago Blackhawks, who haven't won a Stanley Cup since the with some force, to beat Pittsburgh. 1960-61 season.

nated every series the Pengn played so far, and the dominant theme was how the Blackhawks would stop him.

shifts to Chicago Stadium. The Penguins have beaten, in succession, the Washington Capitals, the New York

Rangers and the Boston Bruins. "They didn't body Pittsburgh at all." Chicago Coach Mike Keenan said of the

261 508 862—18 16 6 501 310 910— 6 11 1

Carband Set 316 916—6 11 1
Nagy, Power (6) and S.Alamar; Slusarski,
Harsman (4), Campbell (5), Honeyout (8),
Gasgage (9) and Sleinbach W—Mory, S.L.
Slusarski, 4-2, Sv—Power (3), HRs—Cleveland, Bette 2 (8), Oakland, Stelnbach (2).

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Heating 314 280 980—18 14 2 Montreal 988 518 516—8 14 1 Heaty, Hernandez (91, Murthly (7), D.Jones (9), mod Serveits Haney, Service (3), Sampen (5), Fassero (8), Wetteland (7) and Carter, Carone (8), Wetteland (7) and Carter, Carone (8), Wetteland (7), and Carter, Carone (8), Wetteland, Bisalo (4), Inco-victio (3)

os Anecies 150 900 945 4 3 3 14 620 621 4 8 8 Hershiger, S.Wilson (7), AcCowell (8), Corr

High stage, 3. William C. Hermandez; Car-mier, Le. Smith (8), McClure (8), Worrell (7) and Pagnazzi, W—Worrell, 2-1, L—McDowell.

SVE-Cheriton (10), His-Cancinator, Orean Us.
Philippervis 100 800 239-64 15 1
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2.5mith, Long (5), Giecton (0) and Stouteth,
Prince (5); Lefferix, M.Anddux (8), Myers
(9) and Santingo, W-Lefferix, 6-2, Le-Zamith, S-3, Sve-Myers (12), HRS-PUISDursh, Bonds 172, Son Diego, Gwynn 13),

Freeman (7), Marcker (8) and Ol-olland, MLWilliams (7) and Davi-

3.5. HR-StLouis M.Thompson (3).

crown against the Chicago Blackhawks. And you have to put a body on them, who haven't won a Stanley Cup since the with some force, to beat Pittsburgh.

have to he intelligent about it." The last part is important, because a

The first two games in the best-of-seven-fittle more than a year ago, the Blackhawks ame series will be in Pittsburgh, before it were the favorite to win the Cup, after finishing first in the league standings. But they were dispatched in the first round of the playoffs by the surprising Minnesota North Stars, who eventually lost in the finals to the Penguins, 4-2. The Blackhawks still are a hard-charging

HTT5-Gwynn, San Diesa, 42; Sheffield, San

Dieso, 58; Pendicton, Attento, 58. DOUBLES-Duncon, Philippetohia, 14; Pen

deter, Atlanta, W; VonSiyke, Pittsburgh, 14. TRIPLES—D. Sanders, Atlanta, S; Alicea,

HOME EUNS-Bonds, Pittsburgh, 12:

AcGriff, San Diesa, TJ: Ma.Williams. San Francisco, 11; Sheffield, San Diesa, 10. STOLEN BASES—Grissom, Montreal, 31;

STOLEN BASES—Grisson, Montrout, 31; Lankford, St. Lauis, 119. P/TCHING (4 Decisions)—Swiff, Son Fran-cisco, 4-0, 100, 123; Twekshury, 5t, Louis, 5-1, ISS, LBI: Letterts, Son Olego, 4-2, 736, 4-01. STRIKEOUTS—Core, NY, 77; Smeltz, Al-jorde, 74; S-periodicz, NY, 42; SAVES—La, Smith, 5t, Louis, 14; Myers, 5on Olego, 32; Chertino, Circlotopi, 31; O. Jones,

Olingo, 12: Chariton, Cincinne II. 19: O.Jones, Houston, 10: Franco, NY, L

Japanese Baseball

Menday's Geme Hireshimo 7, Tolyo 4, 12 Innices

960-61 season.

Keenan said of Lemieux: "We're talking out of the penalty box, for the most part, goalie. As for the contact, "In the finals, about one of the best players in the world.

The Blackbawks offense is led by center you have to be willing to take that." But The Blackhawks offense is led by center you have to be willing to take that." But leterny Roenick one of four 50-enal som-

are four Penguins ahead of him — Le-mieux, Ron Francis, Kevin Stevens and

It is easy to say that you will shadow sometimes stay out high to give other play- on his options."

French Open

FIRST ROUND

Men's singles
Pete Sampras (31, U.S. def. Marc Rosset,
Switzerland, 74 (7-5), 44, 44, 34, 6-1, Wally
Masur, Austrulia, def. Jocco Elfingh, Nether-

rakia, del. Sergi Bruguera, Spoin, 64, 62, 61. Shuza Matsooka, Japan, del. Daniel Orsanic.

Shuze Matsokie, Jepan, dei. Deniel Orsanic. Argentifia. 6-1, 6-4, 6-4. Andres Gomez. Ecodor, det. Christian Miniussi. Argentina, 6-1, 6-2, 2-4, 6-1. Gabriel Markus, Argentina. def. Lars Kastowski. Germany. 7-4 (7-4), 6-1, 6-4. Narkus Zaecke, Germany. 6-4, 6-4, 7-5. Giantuca Potzi, Itair. del. Diffus Delatira. France, 6-1, 6-1, 6-4. Azwier Doutresne, Belgium. def. Frederic Pontans. France, 6-4, 7-6 (7-5), 6-1, 6-4. Andre Agassi 1111, U.S. def. Javier Frana, Argentina, 6-1, 6-4, 6-4.

Todd Wootbridge, Austrolla, def. Arnoud Beatsch. France, 44, 5-7, 7-4 (7-3), 6-4, 6-2. Alberto Moncini. Amerilia, 6ef. Alex Corretta, Spain, 6-4, 1-4, 6-4, 6-7 (6-8), 6-1, Richard Krolicek 112), Netherlands, 6ef. Francisco Carvel, Spain, 7-6 (7-4), 6-7 (1-11), 6-3, 7-6 (7-5). Carl-Liwe Steek, Germany, def., Orant Connell, Canada, 6-4, 6-1, 6-2, Dovid Wheaton, U.S., 6-2, Derrick Rostoono, U.S., 6-1, Korel Novocek, Czechustovakia, 3-4, 7-5, 6-3, 6-7 (6-8), 6-1. Gilpert Schötler, Austria, def. Joine Yappa.

Svensson, Sweden, 6-2, 6-1, 3-4, 6-3, Rob

4.7-4 | 7-4 | . 6-1,7-5. Andrei Cherkasov, Rus

origads, del. Renzo Furian, Italy, \$-1, \$-4, \$-4. Cedric Plotine, France, def. Brad Gilbert 1151.

U.S., 24, 5-7, 7-5, 6-2, 6-1. Magnus Gustalsson, Sweden, del. Javier Sanchez, Sapin, 6-3, 6-2, 6-

ionds, 6-3, 4-3, 6-1, Ivan Lendi I litt, Crech

ers in the league. The problem is that there the corners much, he sees and avoids checkers well and moves the puck when people are after him. There are also players Jaromir Jagr. Even if the Blackhawks find like Rick Tocchet to extract some revenge a way to control Lemieux, the others can on people like Roenick if Lemieux is hit. "There are different strategies to help you control him." Keenan said. "You're

Lemieux of try to play him physical. With not going to completely shut down a player shadows, Mario Lemieux explained he will of that magnitude, but you can cut down

77. 6-1. Petr Korda (7), Crec

Monica Seles III. Yugoslovia, def. Cather-ine Mattes, France, 4-1, 4-0. Mary Pierce IIII. France, def. Resina Raichriava, Czechoslovakia, 4-1, 4-1. Mariaan De Swardt, South Atti-

France, del. Regina Rojchriava, Czechoslovakia, 6-1, 6-1. Alariaan De Swardi, Sauth Alfrac, del. Agnes Zupasti, France, 6-2, 6-4. Silke Franki, Germany, del. Carherine Suira, France, 6-4, 6-3. Judith Wiesner, Austria, del. Florencia Labai, Arpentina, 6-2, 6-1. Amenda Coefter, South Africa, del. Alexia Dechaeme, France, 6-4, 7-6, 6-3. Sandra Depfer, Austria, del. Notalle Guerree, France, 7-6 (7-3), 1-6-5. Jennifer Coorioti (5), U.S. del. Beale Reinstadier, Austria, e-1, 6-7 (3-7), 6-2. Petra Thoren, Finland, del. Luciana Revirure, Arpentina, 6-4, 4-8, Sandra Wosserman, Belalum, def. Rika Hiroki, Japan, 7-5, 6-3. Denne Fober, U.S., del. Carrie Cunninaham, 11.5, 6-3, 0-4, 6-1. Notalla Zvereva, Russia, del. Claudia Kohde-Kisch, Germany, 6-2, 6-3. Barbora Rittner, Germany, del. Denisa Saobova, Cachoslovakia, del. Claudia Powiti, Germany, 3-6, 4-3, 6-1. Lori McNell, U.S., def. Carolline Kuhlman, U.S., 6-2, 6-2. Karin Hobsudova, Czechoslovakia, def. Claudia Powiti, Germany, 3-6, 4-3, 6-1. Lori McNell, U.S., def. Carolline Kuhlman, U.S., 6-2, 6-2. Karin Kadwendi, Germany, del. Petiticia Taradini, Araentina, 4-7, 4-6. Kimita Deta I Mi.

ring, Italy, 6-0, 6-0, Andrea Strandova, Czecho-slovakia, del. Marianne Werdel, U.S., 0-4, 6-2, 6-

1, Lars Jonsson, Sweden, det, Febrice Santoru, France, 2-4, 6-3, 6-2, 7-6 (7-5). Nicktas Kutti, Sweden, del. John McEnroe, IJ.S., 6-2, 7-5, 6-7 (5-7), 7-5, Chris Pridham, Casada, def. Stephane Simion, France, 6-4, 6-3, 6-7 (3-7), 6-7 (4-

ters) as the 24-second clock was about to expire. That gave Cleveand an 87-80 lead wih three and a half minutes left. Then, after Jordan missed on a driving bank shot, John Williams made a free throw, followed by a

BASKETEALE

NBA Playotts

3ASTERN CONFERENCE FINALS
(Best-6-7; Series lied 2-21
Chicogo
24 19 17 25—85
Cleveland
30 25 16 25—97
CNICAGO: Grani 2-7 3-4 7, Plosen 5-11 2-3 13,
Cortwright 2-4 0-7 4, Jordan 13-33 4-5 35, Paxson 5-70-11 15, Williams 1-5 0-9, Armstrong 270-04, Perdue 0-10-00, Kingo-10-00, Prodess 0-4
2-1, Levinoston 4-7 0-9 8, Totals 30-67 10-17 85,
CLEV ELAND: Nonce 0-17 6-8 22, Sonders 2-4
2-2-9, Dougherty 2-7 10-13 14, Ento 7-16-3-2 7),
Price 4-8-4-13, Brandon 1-6-0-3, J. Williams 79-4-4-18, Fenry 0-0-0-0, Totals 3-2-7 2-3-5,
Seeling sonds—Chicogo 3-6 (Piopen 1-), Poxson 1-1, Jordan 1-3, Hodges 0-31, Clevotand 6-10
Elhio 4-7, Sonders 1-1, Price 1-2-1, Fouried outPoxson, Rebeands—Chicogo 49 (Grani 15).

Person. Rebounds—Chicago 49 (Gran) Cleveland 5) (Dougherty 141, Assists—Chi go 18 (Jordan 6), Cleveland 25 (Dougherty

Giro d'Italia

NBA Playoffs

before he could swing.

CCL ball after Ferry's ejection. WORLD CUP QUALIFIER

Price needed a break.

Cleveland's defense forced the

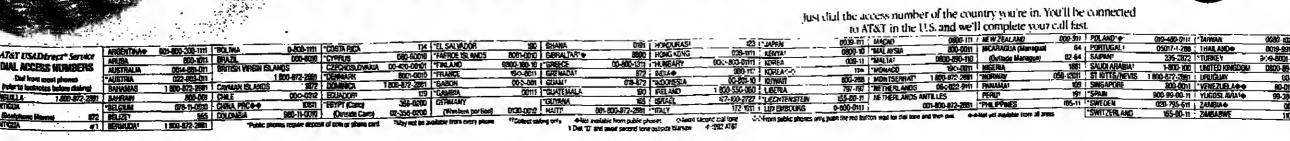
Setting the tone with aggressive

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OBSERVER

Government by Sitcom

By Russell Baker Nixon in his prime, Dan Quayle has the power to make his opponents charge blindly off the highest eliff in the territory.

Take the curious uproar created by his speech in California the other day. How explain it except as another instance of Quayle's power to fan the suicidal impulse in those who don't take to him?

Here was a speech containing ample material to alarm all civilization, most especially in its disclosure that we are now being gov-erned by people who watch TV sitcoms. I would have expected sobs of despair from all sensible people on this score alone.

Can the people we've hired to provide us with international leadership, effective societal management and a national philosophy for the coming century - can these people truly spend the shank of the evening ing sitcoms on the tube?

Quayle's speech suggests they do. And not just watch them. They obviously get ideas from them. character named Murphy Brown, the vice president of the United States has apparently evolved a theory of how to hold together the

country's frayed social fabric. It's as though Madison and Hamilton had evolved theories for a constitution from reading comic books. As though Lincoln's ideas for directing the Union conduct of the Civil War had evolved from

watching John Wayne war movies. I seem to be the only person in the land, however, who was appalled by Quayle's suggestion that the sitcom is in the Washington saddle. Everybody else who is upset about the speech has focused on Quayle's bro-

and family. Here is a puzzle. How many here against love, marriage and family? Not an overwhelming crowd, I'll bet. Not enough to win the presidency, which is what Quayle is aiming for,

Yet press and television have had no problem finding witnesses so furious about Quayle's endorsement of the mexceptionable that they talk as if the country were seething with powerful anti-family

What's going on here? The answer, I think, is that Dan Quayle,

like Nixon and the Shadow, has the power to cloud men's minds. The Shadow did it with hypnosis and Orson Welles's voice. Nixon did it by acting as though he were the

clusive custodian of patriotism. Quayle does it, I suspect, by means that even he doesn't understand. He represents a change in American life that angers persons 100ted in the past. He symbolizes the new age of media politics.

This is a politics in which success flows to people with entertainment talents or skills, often regardless of whether they have any ideas for gov-erning, any sense of the future or, in the most blatant cases, whether they have any brains to speak of.

As media politics puts the country more and more in the care of people with star quality, people rooted in a dving world where ideology mattered more than teeth now tend to be repelled.

George Bush seems to have picked Quayle for vice president because he was a blank slate, a piece of unused material amenable to shaping by the image-building industry so vital in media politics. The jokes about his emptiness express a cynical acceptance of the new age as well as a somewhat

bitter resignation among people who hate the age of media politics. Haured makes for irrational responses, and what could be more irrational than Democrats and liberals sounding as though they're against love, marriage and family since Quayle is for it? The time to oppose the person you despise is

when he's wrong, not when he's To be sure, the Quayle speech is another fairly obvious attempt hy Republicans to play the old race card. They have played it shamelessly and triumphantly since Nixon's time, and they were bound to play it again this year, for it's catnip to aggrieved white working people whose passion is slight for more high-minded Republican themes.

like cutting the capital gains tax. It's a rare politician who finds stooping chin-to-gutter so cootemptible that he won't do it in a close election. It's also an extremely dumb politician who lets himself be so riled by the foe that he comes out against love, marriage and family.

New York Times Service

In Germany, Artists Who Never Were

By Stephen Kinzer

New York Times Service

B ERLIN — The paintings and drawings of Jochen Seidel, an artist from Eastern Germany whose tormented life ended in suicide in a New York loft in 1971, are now on display at a major retrospective that is touring his homeland. In Berlin, the retrospective opened in a

respected city-supported gallery, according Scidel a measure of the recognition that escaped him almost completely in his life-time. It is at the Stadtansoum in Halle, where Seidel once lived, and will be on view

in Cologne in mid-September.

"After schlepping the stuff around for 20 years, naturally I think this exhibition is wonderful," said Mel Roman, a psychologist and artist whose New York studio adjoined Seidel's and who helped rescue his works for posterity. "There's a growing interest in Seidel in Germany now. It's not like those depressing days when people were telling my wife and me to take a few pictures as mementos and junk the rest of

Seidel is one of several painters from the former East Germany whose work is reaching a general audience here for the first time

No one has made the case that these artists are overlooked masters or that the recent promotion of their pictures will require the rewriting of art history. But their stories reflect the kinds of obstacles that faced East German artists, and the varying ways they coped or failed to cope.

One artist who died in relative obscurity

in East Germany was Hermann Glöckner, who was born near Dresden in 1899 and dled there in 1987. Glockner produced a large collection of paintings, drawings, sculptures and collages, but because his abstract and cubist styles were not favored in East Germany, he had only limited chances to exhibit his work.

Since resmification in 1990, collectors in the western part of the country have become interested in Glöckner's work. A museum in Ulm mounted a one-man show in his honor last year, and several of his paintings have become part of the presugious Deutsche Bank collection.

A commentary prepared by a Deutsche Bank curator says Glöckner's work shows that "serious art can be produced in isolation, whether that isolation is voluntary or

Among painters from Eastern Germany who have lived to see their work discovered hy Western collectors is Hans Winkler, who was born in Gotha in 1919. During most of his adult life, Winkler worked as a music teacher while pursuing his art. He made many of his own paints

by squeezing colors out of vegetables and berries, and habitually painted on both

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COMMERCIAL-INDUSTRIAL



A detail from "The Fool," on display in the Jocher Seidel retrospective.

sides of whatever paper he could find. Winkler has recently found a gallery in Western Germany through which he is selling his work. One of his paintings, a pointillist work that incorporates the slo-gan "Wir Sind das Volk" — "We are the people" — was bought by President Richard von Weizsäcker. "Wir Sind das Volk" was the slogan that East German protesters chanted during the mass demonstra-

retrospective. There are also a couple of sensitive but accessible landscapes from this period, suggesting that Seidel could e pursued a conventional artistic career

if he had chosen to do so. Stifled by life in East Germany, Seidel accepted an offer from one of West Berlin's leading gallery owners. Rudolf Springer. He moved to the West in 1953 and began painting at a studio provided by

No one has made the case that they are overlooked masters, but their stories reflect the kinds of obstacles that existed under the Communist regime.

tions in 1989 that led to the collapse of the country's Communist government.

Of all these long-obscure artists, none lived a more troubled life than Jochen Seidel, He was born in the eastern town of Bitterfeld in 1924, and after serving in the German Army during World War II returned to the area, settling in Halle.

In the early 1950s, Seidel made his living by painting beroie murals in the style of Socialist Realism. He also churned out quick portraits of Communist heroes to be hung in government and party offices. Just one of these pictures, an unexcep-

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Springer. His style changed radically, be-coming abstact and colorful. In the decade that followed, his work was exhibited in many European cities, as well as in the United States and South America.

Partly in an effort to make contact with the larger art world, Seidel moved to New York in 1964, where he rented a top-floor studio in Greenwich Village and began teaching at Fairleigh Dickinson University and Pratt Institute.

He lived the last and most productive years of his life there, but his painting, rooted in European Expressionism and Surrealism, never struck a popular spark. It was overwhelmed by Pop Art and other steadfastly refused to take part. "He had dared to take the leap to New

York when the New York art scene still questioned the very possibility of German artists," says a commentary in the catalogue of the retrospective. "A sensitive artist like Jochen Seidel who wanted to continue in the European tradition had few prospects for success in New York." The unwillingness of any major gallery

owner in New York to represent Seide had much to do with his deep personality problems. He never escaped the effects of a turbulent childhood marked by the murder or suicide of his father, and his estrangement from two wives and three children pushed him further into depression He suffered from drug and alcohol abuse, and descended into a form of madness for which he was treated by various therapists and hospitalized for a time. At least twice he tried to take his own life. During this period, Seidel painted fever-ishly, even covering the walls and doors of his studio and painting over some of his finished works. He also produced a series of drawings and word pictures, some of

which are remarkably original. Seidel hanged himself in his studio on

At the time of his death, Seidel owed New York City several thousand dollars for unpaid taxes, and the contents of his loft were auctioned. The artworks might have been sold to assembled scrap dealers had not his loft neighbors, Roman and his wife, asked them not to bid, as a courtesy

to the artist's memory. The dealers agreed, and for a bid of \$365 the Romans bought seven years of Jochen Siedel's work: more than 200 paintings and more than 1,200 drawings. Since then, Roman and a small group of other friends of the artist have been working slowly to catalogue the collection. They have placed paintings in various museum collections in the United States and Europe.

"We had never heard of Jochen Seidel." wrote a reviewer in the Berlin magazine Tip after the retrospective opened. "In his paintings, you feel nothing of the depres-sions that followed his failure to build a

These pictures testify to the difficulty of living between cras, pointing against the trends, always seeking the ideal picture that reconciles form and color."

Springer, the gallery owner and art parriarch who brought Scidel out of East Germany nearly four decades ago, said of Seidel. This man was my friend, so I can say that he had many, many problems. A lot were personal, but some were also artistic. "He was very talented, very hard-work-

ing and very intuitive. But he was a man

who never found his form.

In Test of Sommeliers

best sommelier of Europe, defeating 17 other wine stewards in the final competition, which included blind tastings and correcting errors in a wine menn. Bernd Kreis, 29, a sommelier for the Wielandshöhe restaurant in Stuttgart, fared best in the finals at the Rumant Champagne house in Reims, France, which culminated two days of tests. A Frenchman, Jean-Claude Ruet, 27, placed second. The finalists were called on to identify wines and spirits, ranging from a 1985 Nuits-Saint-Georges premier cru to a Greek eau-de-vie, in blind taste tests.

PEOPLE

German Gets Top Marks

A German has won the title of

The mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, Tuesday awarded the Ver-meil Medal of the City of Paris, to Katharine Graham, the chairman of the board of The Washington Post Company, and Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, the chairman and chief execntive officer of The New York Times Company. They are also co-chairmen of the International Herald Tribune, and the award honored 25 years of joint ownership by The New York Times and The Washington Post of the Paris-based paper.

The 20-year-old daughter of Prime Minister John Major of Britam fell from a horse during a charity race in Huntingdon, England. The prime minister and his wife, Norma. were watching from the stands when their daughter Elizabeth fell just af-ter crossing the winning post. A course spokesman said she was "shaken" but not seriously hurt. The race was run for the benefit of the mentally handicapped.

Mick Jagger was just another video camera-toting parent when daughter Karis Hunt Jagger graduated from Yale University. The lead singer for the Rolling Stones shooed away journalists who followed him to the college where his daughter received her diploma. "Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you, good-bye, good-bye, good-bye, said Jagger, accompanied by his wife, Jerry Hall. Karis is his daughter by the singer and actress Marsha Hunt. Other. famous parents attending the com-mencement exercises: Mia Farrow, whose son Matthew Phiness Previn. was graduating, and Governor Mario M. Coomo of New York, who came to see son Christopher get his

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